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Group

Social science notes

No. 2. A preliminary survey of
Greenland's social history



A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF
GREENLAND'S SOCIAL HISTORY

by

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Canada

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed
to Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department
of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Social science notes

No. 2.

Northern Science Research Group
Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development
Ottawa, April 1970

PREFACE

This report is the result of a field trip to Denmark and Greenland in the spring of 1969, as well as library research of Danish and English source materials. It is a preliminary study and its data and analysis need to be expanded by further studies. We hope this report will serve as a background paper for teachers, administrators and social scientists intent upon developing a comparative perspective in Arctic studies.

Many people in both Greenland and Denmark assisted me writing this report, I am particularly grateful to Mr. and Mrs. P. Therstrup Larsen, and Governor N.O. Christensen, for assistance and guidance in obtaining information and making my trip a very enjoyable one indeed!

PREFACE

This report is the result of a field visit to Ontario and Wisconsin in the spring of 1959, as well as library research at Ontario and English source materials.

It is a preliminary study and its data and analysis need to be expanded by further studies. We hope this

report will serve as a background paper for economists, administrators and social scientists interested in developing a comparative perspective in health studies.

Many people in both Ontario and Wisconsin

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"new dominant cultures will arise and those which most accurately infer human process will harness the energy of humanity most effectively. The fuller man's understanding of his place and role in nature, the more efficient will be the resultant culture in enabling him to fill that place and role."

Julian Huxley

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INTRODUCTION

Few people realize how closely Greenland is related to Canada in a geographical and ethnological sense. The forefathers of the early Greenlanders lived in Canada and even Greenlanders of today have an intense interest and affection for the Eskimo populations of Northern Canada.

Above the 82nd parallel, in Robeson Channel, Ellesmere Island and Greenland are separated by a mere 40 miles. The proximity of Greenland is underlined by the fact that almost every spring Polar Eskimos from Qanaq in Greenland, travel by dogsled across Smith Sound to visit Canadian Eskimo friends and relatives in Grise Fjord on Ellesmere Island.

Yet relatively little is known in Canada about the social history and current development programmes that are now taking place in Greenland. This report has been written to serve as a background paper for administrators and students interested in comparative arctic development. Its focus is the development of social and administrative institutions. Its coverage therefore is much narrower than the report written by Dr. Diamond Jenness (1967).

Because of the highly specialized environment of the arctic regions, social development introduces a number of variables that are strikingly different from development problems in other parts of the world. As a result, experience of administrators and social scientists in other arctic areas is directly relevant to the problems faced in the Canadian arctic. Studies

of development programmes, particularly in the field of local government, centralization, and housing are of direct importance to Canadian development.

Development in Greenland has progressed further than in Canada and by studying both Greenland's history and its present situation, we are able to look at stages of modernization, which we in the Canadian North are just about to enter.

The Northern Science Research Group hopes to establish permanent liaison with the Greenland Department in Copenhagen and to promote comparative research in the fields of technology, education, housing, administration, local government, economic development, and political institutions.

Developmental Perspective

The focus of this study is the relationship between cultural milieu on the one hand and economic, political, and administrative institutions on the other, as well as the infra-structure of these institutions. For a set of institutions to operate effectively, they must appear legitimate and valid in the eyes of their participants.

An institutional framework should allow a relatively unhampered flow of creative energy and promote human development, and if institutional structures block aspirations and produce conflict and apathy, we can generally diagnose a gap between traditional cultural values and other values associated with institutions imposed from without.

The pages that follow sketch the institutional development in Greenland. It is hoped that the information



New buildings in Sukkertoppen.

given will help to clarify some of the complex relationships between traditional cultural orientation and imposed organizational structures in an arctic setting.

I

GREENLAND - GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Greenland is the largest island in the world. It stretches from Cape Farwell in the south to Cape Morris Jessup in the north, a distance of approximately 1,655 miles. The longest east-west measurement is approximately 652 miles.

The total surface area is 840,000 square miles, of which 80% is covered by the ice-cap.

The coast line is mountainous on both east and west coasts and peaks rise to 10,000 feet and higher. Deep fjords stretch from the mountainous coast up to 200 miles inland. Their green-blue waters surge along the steep embankments which often rise to great heights, and are capped with snow.

Greenland does have one important advantage over the eastern Canadian Arctic: most of the coast can be navigated on a year round basis. What this means in terms of supplies of fresh food, mail, mobility of people and the establishment of industry, can hardly be adequately appreciated unless one has lived in one of the isolated settlements of the Canadian Arctic, where in some places the sea ice does not break up until late July and forms again in September. Up to Holsteinsborg, located on the West coast 25 miles above the arctic circle, navigation is feasible on a 12 months a year basis; up to Umanak 284 miles above the circle, for only 7 months and at Thule, 884 miles south from the Pole, for only 4 months of the year. Although the sea is navigable throughout the winter up to Holsteinsborg, ships have to be reinforced to cope with ice floes.

The climate, although arctic, is not nearly so severe as in the eastern arctic of Canada, as illustrated by the figures below:

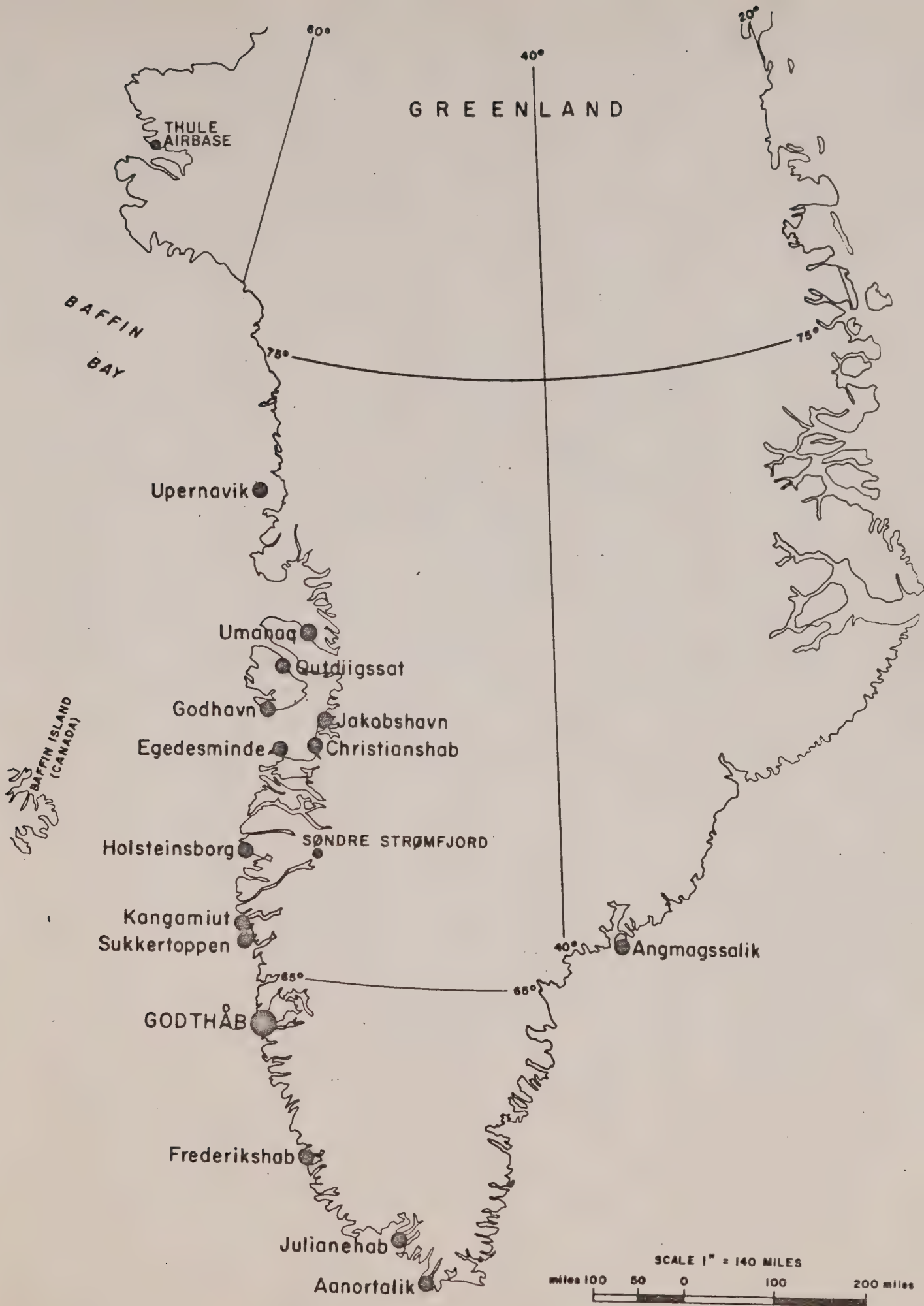
<u>Mean Annual Temperatures</u>	
Godthab ^O - Greenland	30 F
Igloolik - N.W.T.	8 F
Resolute Bay - N.W.T.	3 F

Comparing Godthab temperatures with Ottawa, we get the following picture:

	<u>Ottawa</u>	<u>Godthab</u>	<u>Cape Farval</u>
Average annual temp.	42 F	30 F	33 F
" January temp.	12 F	15 F	26 F
" July temp.	67 F	44 F	46 F

Many of the icebergs that are a threat to shipping have their origin in the huge ice cap which dominates Greenland. Scientists estimate that if the cap melted - it has a maximum thickness of approximately 2 miles - it would raise the ocean levels by 20 feet.

Greenland's vast glaciers, deep fjords and gayly coloured towns, leave an unforgettable impression. Behind the face of Greenland lies historical depth which we will briefly examine prior to discussing the current situation of rapid social change.



II

THE FIRST SCANDINAVIANS IN GREENLAND

When Eric the Red's graceful viking ship approached the west coast of Greenland in the latter half of the 10th Century, a new era began for that remote island which profoundly changed the destiny of the country and its people. The first group under the leadership of Eric the Red settled near the present day town of Julianahab^o. Gradually a series of farms were established in this area known as Austerbygd. Austerbygd constituted the 150 miles of coast line ending at Cape Farwell, the most southern point of the west coast. Later waves of migrants were forced to seek land further north, around the present town of Godthab^o. This region was called Vesterbygd.

The settlement of Austerbygd, according to Ingstad, had 190 homesteads, 2 monasteries and 12 churches. Vesterbygd had 90 homesteads and 4 churches. Greenland also had its own Bishop, who reported to the Archibishop of Nidaros in Norway. (Ingstad, 1966).

In the years 999-1000 Leif Ericson, son of Eric the Red, became converted to Christianity. This event transpired while he spent the winter at the court of the King Olav Trygvason in Nidaros, Norway. The following spring Leif set sail, accompanied by a number of priests, who subsequently were able to bring the Norse community into the Christian fold. Since the Roman Church forbade association with "the heathen and savages", no attempts appear to have been made to teach Christianity to the Eskimos after their presence became known to the Norse¹ at the end of the 14th Century.

¹The term Norse is used here to denote the Viking settlers in Greenland (after Ingstad, 1966).

The early establishment of Christianity in Greenland is confirmed by numerous finds. Archeological work at cemeteries has revealed some skeletons with their fingers clasping crucifixes. At times such finds were accompanied by soapstone carvings of the great Thor, whose power as a religious figure receded slowly.

In spite of the exhortation to avoid contact with the "heathen and savages" - meetings did take place towards the end of the 14th century. Some objects have been found among Eskimo ruins indicating that trade took place. This is also suggested by an account taken from the diary of Niels Egede - one of the early missionaries in the 18th century. He recorded several Eskimo tales about contact and trade with the Norse. In the "Historia Norvegia", written in 1170, encounters between Norse and Skraelings (Eskimos) are also related. (Krogh 1967). Eskimo and Icelandic Sagas confirm occasional contact between the two groups over a period of several hundred years.

When the Englishman John Davis sailed to Greenland between 1585 and 1587 he reported that there were no signs of the Norse. (Krogh 1967).

Causes advanced to account for the disappearance of the Norse are many: - a worsening of the climate, disease, conflicts with the Eskimos, emigration and attacks by British privateers. The final answer to the question is probably a combination of factors.

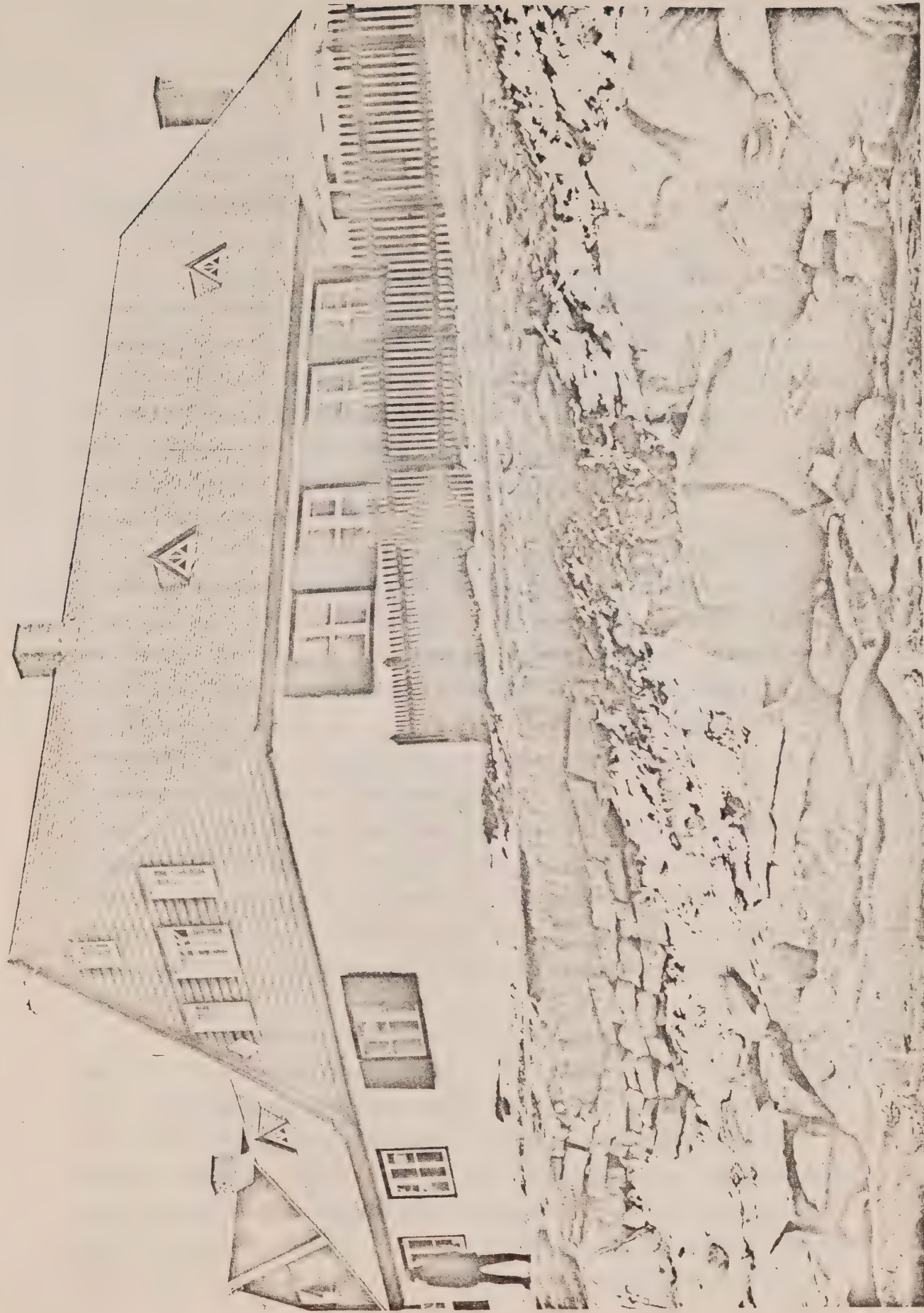
The Western Settlement was reported to have been abandoned as early as the middle of the 14th century. It appears likely that a worsening of climate for the more northerly situated Vesterbygd may have been an important factor. Accounts of visitors to the abandoned

settlement indicate that much livestock was left behind suggesting that starvation was not imminent. It is assumed that the settlers migrated to Newfoundland or returned to Scandinavia. Further archaeological work may provide a final answer.

The settlement at Austerbygd, according to missionary accounts of Eskimos tales, was severely harrassed by British pirates, but whether this was the reason for their extinction, or emigration is not certain. Inadequate supplies from Europe, a decrease in temperature and other natural causes could well have played a role. It is likely that some conflict with the Eskimos further aggravated the position of the Norse - but there is no evidence to suppose that this was a major factor.

Although the Norse colony had vanished by the late fifteen hundreds, casual contact between Eskimos and Europeans continued with the emergence of the fishing and whaling industry in Davis Strait. The Dutch, in particular, realized substantial profits through whaling and trading seal blubber and skins with the Eskimos in exchange for iron and brass implements. From time to time a ship's crew would be marooned for the winter and trading and visiting with the natives was often a regular activity during the long winter. Interiors of the Eskimos turf huts frequently displayed a multitude of European artifacts, pots, pans, lanterns, kettles and knives. This limited diffusion of traits and artifacts was only a preamble to the intensive experiment in directed change which began in 1721 when Hans Egede a Norwegian clergyman, founded a mission at Godthab Island.

Hans Egede's original home has been fully restored, and serves now as the residence for the Chairman of the Council, Erling Hoegh.



III

EGEDE'S MISSION

Egede's first motive for the founding of a Greenland mission was to restore Christianity to the original Norse community, remnants of which he supposed to be still in existence. He assumed that these pockets of surviving Norse had reverted to heathenism - one of the reasons why they did not make their presence known to the by now frequent coastal visits of Dutch and British vessels.

On arrival, Egede set out to convert the Eskimos around the Godthåb^o area, and quickly acquired a knowledge of the language. He often travelled along the coast to search for the surviving Norse. Although he discovered the remains of settlements and churches, no living members of the former Norse community were encountered, and Egede's life goal now became the Christianization of the Eskimos.

The financial underpinnings for the mission were provided by the Bergen Company, an enterprise founded in Norway by a number of merchants from Bergen who hoped to reap a profit by trading with the natives. Hans Egede was appointed a special representative for the company.

Egede caused several groups to accept Christianity, but by no means all. This was to be accomplished later by Egede's son and other missionaries. Egede was less successful in his role as representative for the Bergen Company. Trading in the Godthåb^o area was limited, and the more populous areas with rich natural resources such as Christianhåb^o were monopolized by the Dutch traders, who made substantial and sometimes unscrupulous profits.

Hazardous shipping conditions and stiff competition were the cause of the foundering of the Bergen Company in 1727. From 1727 until 1733, Greenland's navigation came under the direction of the King. In 1728 a military expedition was sent out. An impoverished nobleman, Major Claus Paars, headed an ill-fated team of 25 soldiers, 12 women from a Copenhagen reformatory and 12 former male convicts. The latter 2 groups were to be married by lot, and were expected to become the founders of a Danish community in Greenland. Only one of these random marriages was successful. In addition to the bickering of 11 unhappy couples, the small community was plagued by scurvy, lack of discipline, cold and starvation.

In 1731, Paars and the few survivors, including the one happy couple, were repatriated. It appeared that the Danish colonization of Greenland had come to an end. The King advised Egede that support would be withdrawn, and if Egede choose to remain, it would be at his own risk. Egede decided to stay. His decision undoubtedly had historic significance. Further discussions in Royal and mercantile circles led to the clear conclusion that abandonment of Danish navigation to Greenland would quickly cause other European powers to **absorb** the Greenland trade terminating Danish influence in that area. This would also have spelled the eventual disappearance of the Danish mission.

As fortune would have it, an unusually generous and perceptive person was found willing to undertake the Greenland trade once more. Jacob Severin was a well known Danish merchant whose interest was not solely commercial. He received a Royal charter in 1734 to carry out the Greenland trade and for the next 13 years

he put all his effort into the systematic colonization and Christianization of Greenland's west coast, frequently at great personal sacrifice. Severin himself had aspired to the ministry at one point in his career and he was a life-long supporter of the Greenland mission.

With the trading and navigation under the able leadership of Severin, substantial progress was made. Egede's own sons, Neils and Paul, both born in Greenland and fluent in Greenlandic, were employed by Severin as traders, yet they did important evangelical work and were regarded with great affection by the natives. They pioneered the settlement of Christianhåb in 1736. In the period 1736-49, a series of settlements were founded: Jacobshavn, Frederikshab, Fiskeneset, Sukkertoppen, Holsteinsborg, Egedesminde.

The structure of the administration in these settlements was simple. Each settlement had a Koloni-bestyrer,¹ who was also the chief trader and senior government representative. The missionary had equal status but in practical matters had to abide by the Koloni-bestyrer's decision. Until 1782, the trader and the missionary reported directly to Copenhagen.

Hans Egede's Work in Denmark

A factor which played an important role in promoting Denmark's involvement in Greenland was the work of Egede in Denmark. Had Egede completed his work

¹Koloni-bestyrer, literally means - one who administers and manages a colony.

in Greenland and returned to Norway for retirement, the work in Greenland might well have faltered. Egede, however, spent the rest of his days in Copenhagen promoting Denmark's mission in Greenland, making it a part of Danish national consciousness.

Egede returned to Copenhagen in 1736 and actively began to build an organizational structure for the work that thus far had rested heavily on the shoulders of one individual. He founded a mission college to prepare future catechists and missionaries for Greenland. Permission was obtained from the King to pick the brightest students from the Royal orphanage to be trained as catechists for duty in Greenland. These boys, who were ordered to marry native Greenlandic women, played an important role in the future mission work.

In 1736 a special training school in the Greenlandic language (Eskimo) was proposed for both future missionaries and assistant traders. This was given Royal assent in 1737, and the "Seminarium Groenlandicum" was founded. Hans Egede was appointed headmaster of this state-supported school. Students were given free board and lodgings at the University.

In 1740, Severin, a close friend of Egede and highly influential in promoting the interest of Greenland's mission in Copenhagen, received news from the King that his trading charter had been renewed for a 4 year period. Under the charter Severin was required to establish and finance two schoolhouses for "children eager to learn, and over 10 years of age". Each school was to have one Greenlandic and one Danish teacher. Students also had to be given adequate provisions and clothing. (Bobé, 1929).

In addition to institutions founded in Copenhagen to assure continuity in Greenlandic colonization, Egede was able to compile a grammar of the language and begin work on a Greenlandic translation of the New Testament. The translation was completed by others in 1766.

Further interest in the Greenlanders was stimulated amongst the population of Copenhagen through visits of Eskimos to that city. Famous amongst these was a visit in 1724 by Pok and Kipirok. When the Bergen Company brought these two men over, a major water pageant was put on for the benefit of the Royal family, and the Copenhagen populace. It was a waterborne parade headed by a barge with musicians playing horns, drums and trumpets. This was followed by a vessel with Copenhagen's elite. The next vessel carried a group of violinists accompanied by a clavecimbel; then appeared the central figures of the show: Pok and Kipirok paddling their Kajaks in native costume, flinging their spears at the Royal Geese. The pageant was completed by a series of larger vessels displaying a variety of native products. The show raised an awareness of Greenland and its inhabitants.

In 1740 Paul Egede visited Copenhagen in the company of a number of Eskimos. It is said that during this visit as well as others, the home of Severin was always open to native and Danish settlers from Greenland. These visits and the information disseminated by the Eskimos on their return to Greenland, helped to build up foundations of trust between the two ethnic groups - a prerequisite for social development.

Traders and Missionaries

Severin's trading ventures resulted in severe financial losses, and in 1747 he requested that the charter be given to another company. In the same year the King ordered the General Trading Company based in Copenhagen to take over the trade, and by 1750 the General Trading Company completed the transfer from Severin. Severin died in 1753 and he holds an honoured place in Danish-Greenlandic history.

Leaders of religious and commercial institutions connected with Greenland belonged to elite groups with the King at the centre, assuring some consistency between the policies of diverse institutions. But at the grass roots level, conflict between trader and missionary was at times violent, particularly since it was frequently difficult to find qualified traders. This problem was more severe during the period 1747-1776, when the General Trading Company had taken over the charter for the Greenland Trade. They often had to resort to hiring ordinary sailors as traders, and violent misuse and brutal treatment of the natives was not uncommon. Bobé writes:

"The trader was ordinarily a sailor, who had formerly been in the China trade, and who had no knowledge of anything. He led an infamous life, exploited the Greenlanders and was extremely brutal towards them. The Danish crews quarelled and drank gin, and nothing but oaths and curses were heard on all sides on account of the hard service, the mean wages and the poor

fare. The men were almost exclusively Icelanders and many of them died of scurvy. The assistant trader beat them. The missionary, a proud and uncompromising but exceedingly poor man, held a service twice in the course of the night, viz. at midnight and at six in the morning, and those who did not attend this service were punished." (Bobé, 1929: 119)

Another factor that further complicated the early Danish colonial structure was the arrival of the Moravian church. In 1733, Christian VI, King of Denmark, received a visit from Count N.L. Zinzendorf who persuaded the King to allow the Moravians to send several of their craftsmen to aid the Egede Mission. Soon after these men arrived, they broke away from the Danish mission and attracted a substantial following.

Both the Danish and Moravian missions gradually eliminated traditional social organization and beliefs among the converted tribes. This was in part a result of their unrelenting efforts to destroy the position *of the* angakok, who played a central role in traditional social organization.

The centralization of groups around the mission interfered with normal resource-harvesting practices, and the annual cycle of activities. The emergence of a small group of wage-employed Eskimos further disrupted traditional economic organization. Total dependence of each member on the group was no longer necessary, social control became ineffective, and economic initiative declined. The Danish mission and the traders soon

realized the disastrous economic consequences of centralization, and began to discourage it. The Moravians, however, adhered strictly to the principle of living in a religious community, "the Herrnhut", and resource-harvesting was greatly reduced for the Moravian groups.

The balance between trade and missionary interests was a precarious one. Economic considerations weighed heavily. In 1787, the mission at Upernavik was closed because the post was no longer economically viable. In 1775, an official policy of dispersion was adopted to increase resource harvesting, forcing the missionaries to undertake extensive travelling in order to continue religious instruction of the various groups.

In 1772, the General Trading Company was unable to carry on owing to severe financial losses. The State decided to take over and the famous Konglige Grønlandske Handel¹ was created. This was an important event and solidified Danish institutional ties with Greenland. It was not until 1782, however, that the entire relationship of Denmark to Greenland was reviewed, and from this emerged the first conscious formulation of State policy on Greenland and the destiny of its inhabitants.

¹Royal Greenland Trading Co.

INSTRUCTIONS OF 1782 - AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

The 1782 instructions dealt with trade and administrative matters, but more importantly, they attempted to define the relationship of Danes to Greenlanders and to protect the Greenlanders against abuse by Danish officials. Danes were urged to be "gentle and considerate". Danish law was not to be applied to Greenlanders and sanctions were largely left to the judgement of the Danish traders.

"If any Greenlander should be found guilty of unseemly behaviour such as theft or other gross demeanor, the trading agent, as gently as possible, should make him desist therefrom. If this avail not or the offence be particularly gross, he will be punished according to circumstances and the nature of the crime."

(Lindow, 1929: 55)

The instructions reflected the prevailing Danish philosophy of the time, urging the natives not to lie around basking in the sun in spring and summer, but to use this time of plenty to lay up stocks for future years. Nonetheless, the framers of the instructions had enough realism to provide for poor relief in case compliance with the exhortation to live a life of untiring industry should go unheeded. Administration of relief was to be the responsibility of the trader in the settlement.

The instructions of 1782 also made changes in the administration of Greenland. Two districts were

created, North and South Greenland. Inspectors were appointed to serve as senior civil servants in each district. They resided in Greenland and reported directly to Copenhagen. Since they had a large amount of authority and became involved in the administration of each settlement in their district, this new arrangement introduced a measure of uniformity in administration and community structure.

The philosophy underlying the instructions derived very largely from the enlightenment which at the time swept over Europe. This has been well described by Jenness:

"At its root lay the conception of the Noble Savage which Jean-Jacques Rousseau had been propagating throughout western Europe during the two previous decades. His doctrine had made little impact on Denmark's trading fraternity but.....profoundly influenced two or three politicians at the Royal Court, who persuaded the King that Denmark should not wantonly destroy the culture of her sturdy Hyperboreans, but should strive to keep them Greenlanders, free from the corruptions that had crept into the world of European civilization". (Jenness, 1967: 30).

Related to this philosophy were explicit instructions to retain total isolation from European influences other than contact with the official administrators and traders. Even Danes could not privately visit Greenland. This initiated a period of virtual quarantine, not broken until the outbreak of the

second World War, which forcefully separated contact between Greenland and Denmark and necessitated intensive interaction with the United States.

Merchandise to be offered for sale in the Royal Trade Stores was strictly controlled. Essentials were sold at cost and luxury items at a heavy profit. It introduced an artificial situation which protected the Greenlanders against excesses and the exploitation by western civilization. The negative by-products are well pointed up by Jenness' description:

"Such a closed economy then offered Greenland considerable benefits, but it possessed one great defect. It condemned the Greenlanders to a state of perpetual tutelage, confined them inside an economic and sociological hothouse which sheltered them, temporarily at least, from the harsh winds of the world beyond their borders but debarred them from learning how to adjust themselves to those winds should ever the walls of their hothouse collapse and expose them to civilization's perilous gusts."

(Jenness, 1967: 32)

The isolation policy gave the Danes a monopoly on trade and they were so concerned with maintaining the export of renewable resources that they forced the Eskimos to continue hunting fat-bearing animals, such as seal, walrus or whale, by forbidding the import of oil until 1940. (Lidegaard, 1968).

The period from 1782 until 1857, was not a

prosperous one. The Napoleonic War interfered severely with shipping, reducing both Eskimos and Whites to dire poverty, and at one point there were few traders and missionaries left. In the settlements where missionaries no longer exercised control and where traditional native organization was no longer functional economic activity decreased, aggressive behaviour became frequent, and sexual excesses were not uncommon. Ancient rites and practices revived in some areas. The total picture was one of confusion, and breakdown of social control. During this period poor sealing conditions prevailed, and in the middle of the 19th century the population began diminishing. In the period 1854 - 1859, the population of approximately 8000 declined by 8.2%. The people lost their initiative, sealing effort decreased, homes and boats were not properly cared for, and there were insufficient skins for winter clothing.

To alleviate starvation, the directors of the Royal Greenland Trade renewed the injunction that the traders should assist the population in emergencies, through loans and provision in kind. To improve living conditions, some prefabricated homes were imported from Denmark. But it was clear that these measures did not restore initiative and independence of spirit. This problem of developing dependency on the Danes was clearly spelled out in the writings of H.J. Rink, then inspector for south Greenland.

In the 1850's H.J. Rink published an article which could be called a functional analysis of Greenlandic culture, and was far ahead of its time.¹

¹Om Aarsagen til Grønlandernes af lignende Jagt levende, Nationers materielly Tilbagegang ved Beroringer med Europaerne. af J. Rink

Rink began by pointing out for the benefit of his countrymen that the current opinion held in Denmark of the Eskimos, in which they were seen as a naturally healthy and thriving people, was illusory. He accumulated statistics which showed that the population in many districts was declining. Only the districts with a predominantly hybrid population showed a slow increase in population between 1820 and 1860. He related the decrease of population to poor housing, the shortage of modern tools and poor clothing. He examined some of the factors responsible for the decline among the American Indians, and noted that tribal warfare and alcohol were only partially responsible. He argued that since these were not present in Greenland, which showed a similar decline in population, other more fundamental factors must be sought. He singled out the breakdown of the social structure, and the decline of Greenlandic cultural values as a fundamental cause for the breakdown of social control and a subsequent decline in population.

He provided an analysis of the functional unity of economic, religious, social and ceremonial life, and demonstrated how the introduction of Christianity disrupted the network of traditional institutions. He even questioned the methods of Hans Egede, hitherto a sacrosanct figure in Greenlandic history. It is not that Rink questioned the value of Christianity, but he condemned the radical suppression of native customs which characterized the work of the early missionaries. The very unity of the social fabric which made survival under duress feasible was destroyed, when the role of the angakok and traditional ritual were eliminated.

Rink corrected the prevalent notion that natives

were undisciplined and that there was no law or social order. He illustrated his argument with the description of the song duel as a means of settling disputes by the community. He concludes his paper by pointing out that leadership has to be re-established and handed over to the most capable amongst the Greenlanders. He criticized the legal provisions, which left discipline entirely at the whim of trader and missionary. To remedy the situation, Rink called for elected leaders and a written Greenlandic law. The elected councils were realized shortly after, but the codification of Greenlandic law had to wait until 1954. Even then, no minimum and maximum penalties were stipulated, and the system is still a source of controversy.

As early as 1856, H.J. Rinks and the Moravian Missionary, Samuel Kleinschmidt, proposed to the government a system of limited self-government which they anticipated would foster a sense of responsibility in the community.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Proposals submitted by Rink and Kleinschmidt found expression in legislation in 1857 when "forstanderskaber" were created. These were "boards of guardians", which conducted the functions of a municipal council. Each Board had 3 or 4 appointed members, generally government staff or missionaries, and a number of elected members which varied according to the area population. Initially, Boards were created for the 5 districts in south Greenland, in 1863 the system was extended to north Greenland.

One of the main responsibilities of the Boards was the distribution of social assistance funds. These funds were raised by a tax of 25% on native products sold to the Royal Greenland Trade. Thus the system was a type of redistribution whereby the more capable and industrious supported the remainder of the population. In order to encourage sealing and raise the status of those engaged in it, only seal hunters were eligible for election to the Boards. Since seal products were most profitable for the Royal Trade, this policy was further enforced by returning surplus funds to the seal hunters at the end of the year. The population was also divided into welfare classes:

1. Those that required assistance through circumstances beyond their control.
2. Those whose ill fortune was a direct result of negligence and careless conduct.

It was hoped that this distinction would work as a sanction for those who were not pulling their weight for the community.

According to Lindow, the main duties of the Boards consisted of:

1. Administration of the law in civil and criminal matters.
2. Division of inheritance among Greenlanders.
3. Administration of all public relief, partly in the shape of food, clothes, the necessary tools, fuel, etc. to all who were in need of such assistance, and partly as recompense to enterprising and economical breadwinners (Lindow, 1929)

When drawing up the plans for the Boards, the Danish administration had feared that the Boards might be reluctant to discipline their fellow countrymen. This did not prove true. The Boards were able to exert considerable pressure, particularly since the funds were obtained from the local people. Anyone who did not utilize his potential as hunter and contributor to the local fund was subject to far more negative community sanctions than heretofore.

Lindow writes of the Boards:

"But the most important feature of the experiment was that the guardians proved themselves able to administer the affairs of the relief fund in such a manner that, without incurring too great expense, they warded off actual starvation and prompted the better part of the population to independence and diligence." (Lindow, 1929: 61)

In 1872 a change was introduced making the clergyman for the district also chairman of the Board, replacing the district representative of the Royal Greenland Trading Co.

Another modification was the introduction of reimbursement under which relief funds left over, were redistributed, the able seal hunters receiving the largest share. People owning capital goods such as umiaqs¹ and dog teams obtained extra shares. The object of this regulation was to motivate the Boards to keep relief to a minimum.

One serious problem was that seal hunters, who used to take responsibility for the welfare of their relatives according to ancient custom, now directed them to the Boards. To counteract this tendency, the Danish Government passed legislation restricting relief to those who were incapable of providing for themselves and who had no relatives to draw on. Support was only given if the person in question was threatened by starvation. The new regulations put a heavy load on the heads of large families, and to offset this in part, the reimbursement system was adjusted so that hunters were given one extra share for each relative they supported.

The new regulations actually proved to be difficult to enforce, for traditional social obligations had lost their binding power. Successful hunters frequently refused to support relatives and still sent them to the Boards for assistance.

Lindow reports that the Boards, although they

¹ Large Eskimo boats made of wood frames and covered with skins used for transport and hunting.

were never empowered to initiate municipal legislation, filled a positive executive function and demanded respect from the populace (Lindow, 1929: 63). It appears that throughout the period 1857-1908, social stability was maintained effectively by the Boards of Guardians but social homogeneity was decreasing. The division of labour, and the creation of a small group of Greenlanders employed by the administration, began to generate classes with distinct interests and characteristics.

Lindow made the following estimates of occupational classes:

60 percent occupied as sealers

20 percent occupied as wage earners for the government

20 percent occupied in the fishing industry

Lindow writes:

"The permanent employees undoubtedly lead the most secure existence and in Northwest Greenland, they have so much leisure that they are able to carry on sealing, fishing or some other private pursuit. They must be considered a superior class, and have taken the lead in the construction of larger and more sanitary wooden houses, while a certain amount of luxury sometimes makes itself felt in the appointment of their dwellings and their whole mode of life."

(Lindow, 1929: 67)

The emergence of an educated, western-oriented elite was further aided by the opening of seminaries in Godthåb and Jacobshavn in 1846, where a 6-year course provided instruction in the normal range of intermediate school subjects.

Although education became available, the Danish clergy and administrators were not as yet prepared to accord the native Greenlanders equal status. When a private organization, the "Danish Missionary Society", offered to subsidize the education and professional training of Greenlanders for the post of ordained clergymen, the Mission College, as an official arm of the State Church, refused the offer. They considered it more desirable to restrict natives to the office of catechist. At times assistance from the "Missionary Society" was accepted, but reluctantly. Acceptance of outside aid would undermine the principle of control by the State Church.

Another important event which increased communication and intellectual development was the founding of the first Greenlandic newspaper "Atuagagdliutit". Printed entirely in Eskimo, it reached most Greenlanders. Years later it became a bilingual publication.

The policies of the Greenland administration became increasingly a matter of public interest in Denmark. L. Mylius Erichson in 1904 criticised the Administration publicly for neglecting the more isolated settlements - an issue which is still current. The Boards of Guardians were criticized as being undemocratic and dominated by Danish appointed members. In 1905, for the first time, Greenlandic policy became the object of a public debate in the press, and issues such as the policy

of keeping Greenlanders in traditional occupations came under fire. Demands were made that the Greenlanders should have equal opportunity to develop their intellectual capacity. The outcome of this dialogue was a radical overhaul of the system of administration, encompassed in the act of 1908.

Further Structural Change

The 1908 act abolished the Board of Guardians. New municipal councils were created which covered a smaller area than the Boards.

In the statutes of 1910 it was stated that there were to be

26 Municipal councils in south Greenland, and
36 municipal councils in north Greenland.

Every outpost with two or more families could elect a member to the council of a municipality. Councils were elected for four year periods. The duties were similar to the duties of the Board of Guardians. Apart from the smaller area covered by the councils (in south Greenland there were now 26 municipal councils as opposed to only 5 Boards of Guardians), there was another important change - all councillors were now elected rather than appointed, and no Danish resident could be a candidate for election, except with special permission from the Minister.

Now for the first time, provincial councils were created. North and south Greenland each had its own provincial council elected by all municipal council members in the respective districts. The appointed inspectors for each province acted as chairman of the provincial council. The function of the councils

was primarily advisory; they discussed education, social health, and other problems, and made recommendations to the government.

Another institution to emerge from the 1908 legislation was the mixed court. These courts dealt with special cases, particularly those involving Danish employees and Greenlanders. The court's president was the inspector, and it had two appointed Greenlandic members.

Another significant move was the separation of administration and economic activities. Separate directors for trade and administration were appointed. The inspectors for south and north Greenland were relieved of all commercial responsibility and could focus on social and political development. This arrangement had some advantages, but led to institutional conflict. The director for administration thought in terms of the social development of the population, whereas the trade director was primarily occupied with showing a trade profit. To overcome this, the post of Head of the Trade Department was subsequently made subordinate to the Director of Administration.

In 1912, a Government for Greenland was created within the Department of the Interior, and education was brought under this umbrella. The director of this new organization was responsible for administration of churches and schools, although the Department of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs in Copenhagen retained the power to intervene.

The weakest point in the 1908 legislation was the new municipal council. The total absence of Danes reduced expertise and, more important, the authority of

the councils. It was at the repeated request of the Greenlanders, through the channel of the new provincial councils, that the Danish Government reviewed its policy. This led to the Acts of 1925.

The new 1925 legislation created three districts: north, south and east Greenland. The inspectors were replaced by governors; only east Greenland retained an inspector. All above the age of 22 were entitled to vote - men and women. Those on relief, however, had no voting rights. Civil servants who had served in Greenland for more than two years could participate in the elections and run for office. It was not surprising that after the new election many councils again had Danish members.

A new body, the District Council, was created to coordinate the work of municipalities. It consisted of the chairmen of all the municipal councils in the district as well as all Danish civil servants and members of the Provincial Council resident in the district. This body improved communications because it was the only place where the three forms of government came together: the municipality, the Danish Government, and the Provincial Council. This set of relationships was strengthened by the appointment of one of the members as the District Manager (Sysselmand). The District Manager acted also as deputy for the provincial administrator¹ and supervised municipal affairs. The finances of the Councils still came from tax levied on purchases of Greenlandic products, but this has had been reduced to 20%. An income tax of 2% on salaries of government employees was also instituted.

The mixed courts were eliminated by the act of 1925 and most judicial functions devolved upon

¹Lands foged

the District Councils. In addition, they dealt with intermunicipal affairs, education, common funds, health, and other matters of social importance.

The duties of the Provincial Councils were defined as supervision and the creation of regulations for the lower forms of government and the reviewing of legislation concerning Greenland in the Danish parliament.

In the following years few formal changes took place until the Second World War. Denmark was occupied by the Germans, and Greenland was governed by Danish Civil servants who were stationed there when the war broke out. With the establishment of U.S. airbases on Greenland, closer ties developed between Greenland and North America. A military agreement between Greenland and the United States was signed by the Danish Ambassador, who was promptly dismissed by the German dominated administration in Denmark. The war years introduced new people, radio, new merchandise, employment, and contact with countless technical innovations.

The New Image

After the Second World War, Danish administrators realized that the winds of change had reached hitherto isolated Greenland. Hans Hedtoft, Prime Minister of Denmark at the time, travelled to Greenland and consulted with council members on possible new strategies for Greenland future. The response was unanimously in favour of modernization. A commission to investigate modernization of Greenland was organized.

In February 1950, the massive 1100 page Royal Commission Report on Greenland was published. It provided the basis for much subsequent legislation. The Royal Greenland Trading Co. now became an independent crown corporation. School and Church were separated. Educational institutions multiplied and special Danish-speaking kindergartens were set up for those parents who wished their children to become fluently bilingual.

An important Act to come out of the 1950 report was the National Council Act. It abolished the separate provinces of North and South Greenland and created a single elected council for all of western Greenland. A Governor was appointed for all Greenland who acted as Chairman of the council. The former municipal and district councils were also abolished and the coast of west Greenland was redivided into sixteen municipalities whose chief concern is still the administration of all social legislation. Each municipality covers a number of settlements, and members travel far and wide to attend council meetings.

In 1954, an official criminal code for Greenland was accepted, characterized by the absence of specific sentences. A more far reaching decision made in that year was probably the abolition of the rationing of alcohol. This became a social problem of large proportions and the Council has subsequently spent much of its time discussing the numerous problems that have arisen in connection with drinking.

In 1952 the Greenlandic Council unanimously endorsed the draft of a new constitution which would make Greenland part of Denmark. The new constitution

was approved in 1953 both by parliament and a national referendum. Greenland was to be represented by two Members of Parliament in Copenhagen. The newly elected members went, in 1954, to the United Nations Committee on non-self-governing territories to testify that Greenland was not a colony, but an integral part of Denmark by mutual consent of Greenlanders and Danes.

In 1955 Danish marriage and divorce laws were introduced and a social research committee was set up in Copenhagen to study Greenlandic problems.

The period beginning in 1953 saw many rapid changes. Capital investment was vastly increased. The fish industry was modernized and educational and health services expanded quickly. Communications were aided by a number of local newspapers and a powerful radio transmitter at Godthåb^O, with a range encompassing all Greenlandic settlements and a large portion of the Canadian Eastern Arctic.

In 1960 another Royal Commission was established to make recommendations for a ten year plan. The main recommendations of the commission were:

1. To raise the social, cultural, economic, and political status of Greenland.
2. Not to rely on Danish assistance, but on Greenland's own resources. The idea of subsidized industries as a principle was rejected.
3. To preserve Greenland as a special entity with its own language, culture, and traditions. (Integration into Denmark by emigration was discounted as a solution). (Jenness, 1967: 162)

It was this 1960 Royal Commission Report, also referred to as G60, which was the basis of the Social Development Programmes now in operation in Greenland. The subsequent sections will discuss structural and other changes that have their origins in the G60 report. The content of these chapters is based on library research and interviews conducted and observation made by the writer while in Denmark and Greenland in the Spring of 1969.

VI

GREENLAND TODAY - FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

The main formal institutions which now govern Greenlandic society and determine basic policy are the Danish Parliament or Folketing, the Ministry for Greenland, and the Greenlandic Council.

Greenlanders elect two representatives to Parliament. Greenland has more representatives per population than the remainder of Denmark, for special consideration is given to the size of the country and the extreme differences between north and south.¹ The representatives at present are: Nikolai Rosing for southern Greenland and Knud Hertling for northern Greenland. Proposed legislation concerning Greenland is submitted to the Greenlandic Council for consideration.

The Greenlandic Council consists entirely of elected members representing sixteen districts, including east and north Greenland. Since 1966, the council members have elected their own Chairman; prior to that time the State-appointed Governor was also Chairman of the Council. The Council has a number of legislative functions but its executive responsibilities are limited to social services.

The Council derives its income from taxation on chocolate, tobacco, and alcohol, and in addition 30% of expenditures made in connection with social assistance

¹ Total population for Greenland in 1966 was: 42,102
Number born in Greenland: 36,308
Number in towns : 28,678
Number in settlements : 12,383
Combined population of the Yukon & N.W.T.: 40,000 approx.

are reimbursed by the State. Income realized from these luxury taxes was as follows: (Statistisk Arbog, 1968)

<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Kr. 27,580,000	Kr. 32,313,000	Kr. 34,821,000
\$3,999,100(Can)	\$4,685,385(Can)	\$5,049,045(Can)

The Council generally appoints a large number of committees, whose members need not be on the council. The committees deal with such problems as alcohol, town planning, housing, insurance, and adult education.

As the council has only limited executive responsibilities, at this point in Greenland's development, the main administrative and technical programmes are carried out by the Ministry for Greenland, which reports to the Danish Parliament. The ministry's responsibilities include administration, housing, education, vocational training, economic development, health services, and capital construction.¹

¹ (1) Ministry's Budget for 1969 (includes health services)	<u>Danish Kroner</u>	<u>Approx. amount in Canadian \$</u>
Budget 1969	527,789,000	76,529,507
Average Annual Projected expenditure 1966-1976	420,000,000	60,900,000
Canadian average projection for IAND expenditure in NWT and Yukon 1966-73 (Annually)		102,186,000
Denmark's GNP 1966	74,929,000,000	10,864,705,000
Canada's GNP 1966		57,738,000,000

We spend more on the north of Canada in absolute terms but significantly less in terms of national income. Denmark's projected expenditure in Greenland in terms of a percentage of the GNP is twice as large as Canadian expenditure in NWT and Yukon. (Canada Year Book 1968; Statistisk Arbog 1968).

At the head of the administration in Greenland stands the Governor who reports to the Minister and his deputy in Copenhagen. The Governor delegates his responsibilities through seventeen Administrators dispersed throughout Greenland. Many of these are responsible for a number of settlements in a circumscribed area. The "Kaemners" or administrators carry out administrative functions on behalf of the local councils. Essentially they head a service organization.

These three institutions: Parliament, the Greenland Council, and the Ministry for Greenland are linked together through a planning and coordinating committee known as Folketingets Grønland Udvalg, which is a Parliamentary Committee on Greenland with representation from each of the three above-mentioned institutions. The membership is as follows:

The Deputy Minister of the Ministry for
Greenland

The Governor of Greenland

Two Greenland members of Parliament

Four other members of Parliament

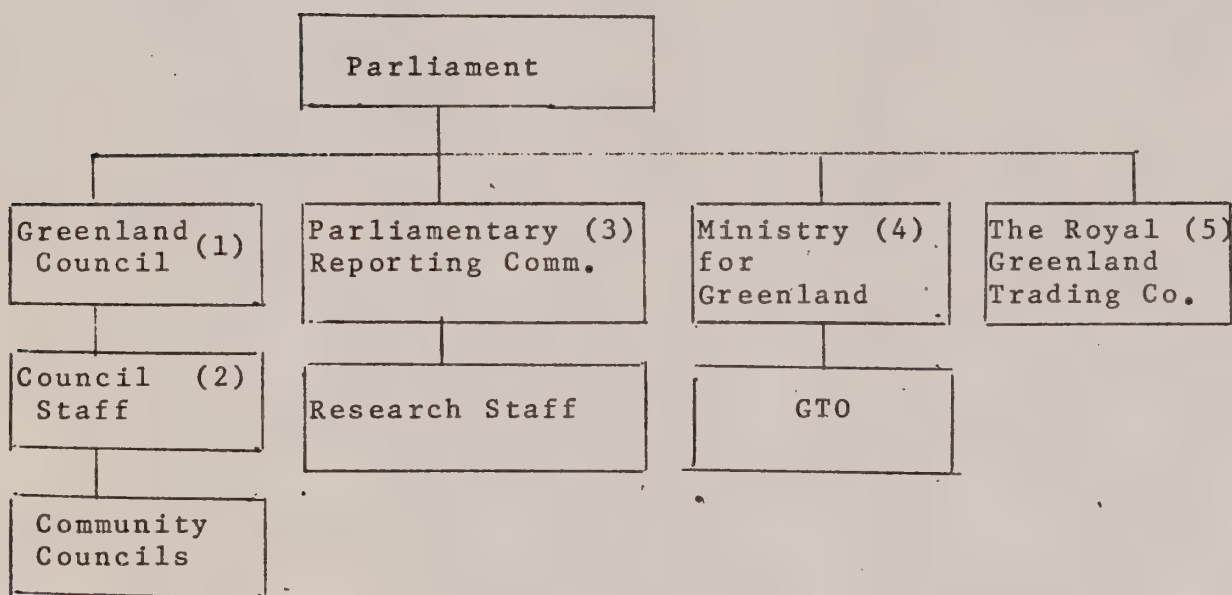
The Secretary who heads the permanent staff
is Mr. C.E. Borneman.

The Committee and its staff are responsible for policy and planning. This structural feature of having policy and planning done by a Parliamentary Committee with its own staff has a number of positive features:

- a. it separates the research and planning from the administration of programmes
- b. It provides effective communication between administrative and political groups, and

encourages consultation and joint decision making.

The committee staff includes economists and lawyers. They are housed in the building of the Ministry for Greenland, but are a separate organization. Socio-economic research is used as the basis for planning and policy. This committee is unique, being a working link between administrators and politicians on both the State and provincial level. Below is a simple chart summarizing the main organizations and their reporting relationships.



- (1) The members of this fully elected provincial council are represented in the Royal Greenland Trade Directorate, and the Parliamentary Reporting Committee. They participate in policy formation of the Ministry for Greenland through membership in the planning committees of the Ministry.

- (2) The council's staff of approximately 25 is primarily occupied with secretarial work, social services, and liaison with the community councils.
- (3) The Parliamentary Reporting Committee is responsible for basic Greenland strategy and consists of Council members, members of Parliament, and representatives of the Ministry for Greenland.
- (4) The Ministry for Greenland administers education, health, housing, and advisory services to the Greenland Council and community councils. Under it comes the G.T.O. or Greenland Technical Organization which operates communication and weather stations, and builds roads, harbour facilities, buildings etc.
- (5) The Royal Greenland Trading Company is financially and organizationally independent, but takes policy direction from the Ministry of Greenland to assure coordination of strategies. Activities include: transportation of consumer goods, retail outlets, purchase of native products, fish plants, and export of native products. Shipping to and from Greenland is under their control.

One feature that shows up clearly in the Danish administration is that, although the Greenland Council has limited executive responsibility, council members are intensely involved in the direction of the agencies which do have executive responsibility, such as

the Greenland Ministry and the Royal Trade. Membership in the Parliamentary Reporting Committee and the Royal Trade Directorate frequently requires Council members to go to Copenhagen for meetings, which is a good feature for it promotes communication between Danish administrators and Greenlandic representatives.

In Greenland the Council is linked to the Governor, who represents the Ministry. This relationship is illustrated in Chart 1. Chart 2 shows the relationship of the Governor, who stands at the head of the Danish Administration in Greenland, to other State agencies.

Comments on organization charts

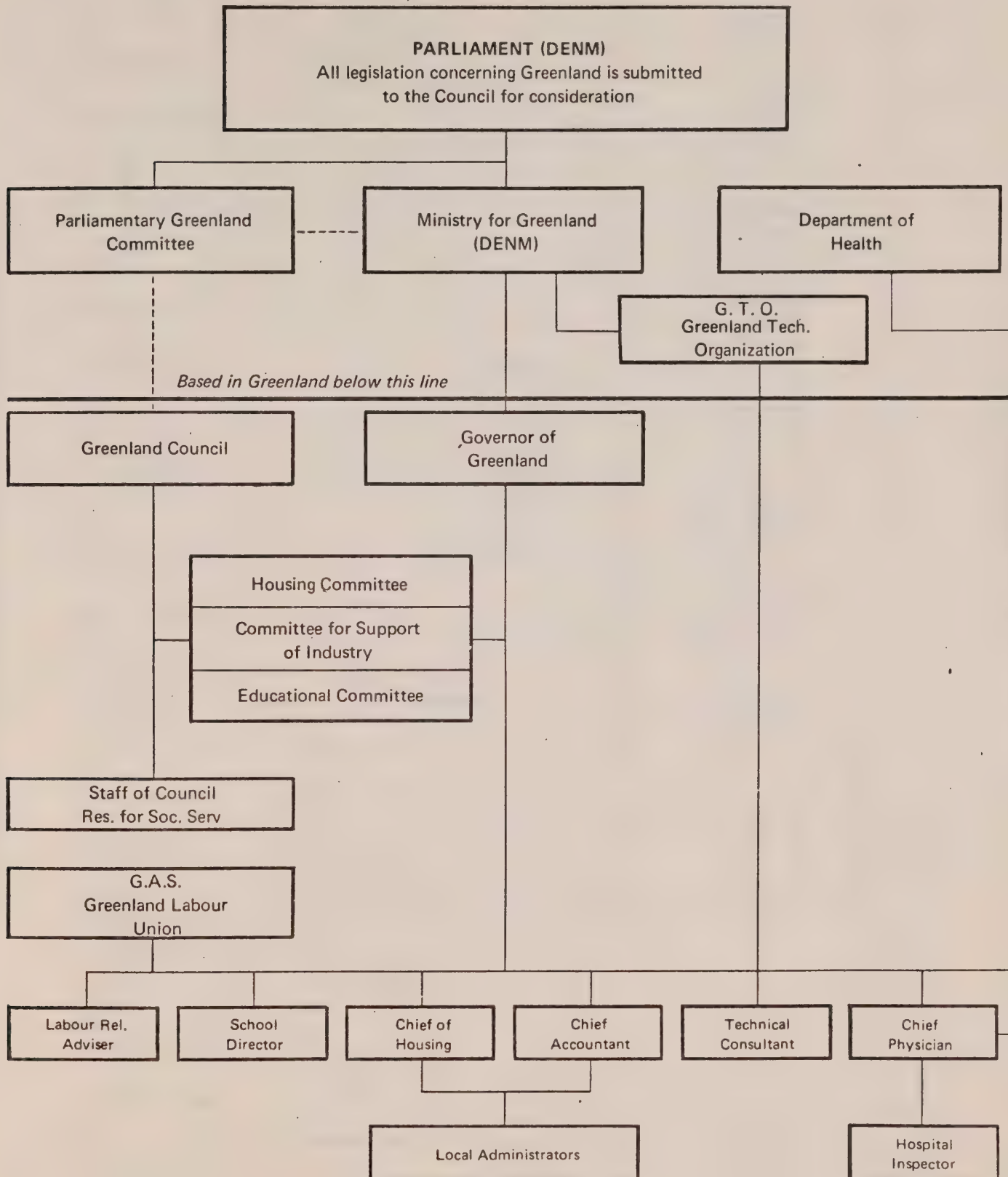
The Governor takes a central place in the department, and directly below the Deputy Minister in rank. Since all executive functions with the exception of social services and community development are still carried out by the Governor and his staff, his office is a focal point in Greenland's social structure and frequently a final source of appeal and arbitration.

The Governor is linked to the Greenland Council through the three central committees shown in Chart 1. These committees deal with the basic strategies for housing, support of industry, and education.

The Greenland Technical Organization fills an important part in the development of Greenland and sub-contracts many of its projects to private firms. The powerful Royal Greenland Trading Co. is not shown on the

CHART I

MAIN POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION MAKING BODIES



Notes: The G.T.O. Greenland technical organization comes under the Minister of the Department, but the K.G.H. which operates most stores and other commercial functions is now a crown corporation.

-----Consultative relationships and or mutual representation.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE TO OTHER AGENCIES

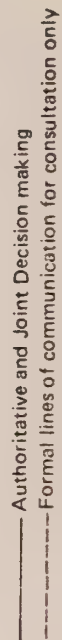


diagram for it is now a crown corporation, and works separately from the Ministry for Greenland.

GAS is the Greenland Labour Union. It is supported by Danish Unions. Its main objective is to secure fair and favourable working conditions in private industry and state employment. It maintains liaison with the Governor through the labour relations adviser.¹

The second chart shows the other agencies responsible for executive functions in Greenlandic society, and their relationship to the Ministry for Greenland. The Government-owned and operated bilingual Radio Programme and Radio News Service is a key tool in development and is listened to throughout the country. Although the radio staff report formally to the Governor, there is an accepted policy of non-governmental interference in radio editorial matters.

The Chief Physician is administratively on the Governor's staff but reports to the Department of Health on professional matters. The State Church (Lutheran) has a consultative relationship with the Governor.

At the local level, the most significant institution is the Community Council which, since the creation of its forerunner in the 19th century, the Board of Guardians, has been a significant factor in the lives of the Greenlanders. The number of community councils in Greenland now stands at nineteen. The municipalities of Thule, Scoresbysund, and Angmassalik were added recently. As indicated on the organization chart, the municipality reports to the Provincial Council for accounting purposes and social services. It reports to the governor on local legislation. The

¹ While in Greenland in the spring of 1969, the author noted that GAS was involved in political activities, and staged a 1st of May meeting in front of the Governor's office. Placards showed demands for more political representation for the workers, that jobs go to Greenlanders instead of Danes, and for more democratic participation.

municipalities in Greenland are in fact a form of regional government. Each region - which in most cases includes a development centre with a number of satellite communities - elects its own council. The structure of regional government will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter on the Sukkertoppen Community.

VII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

All police and judicial functions are carried out by the Danish State at both the local and provincial levels. As methods of informal control become gradually less effective, the task of the administration of justice increases rapidly in scope.

The Criminal Code for Greenland is different from the Criminal Code for Denmark. This special code of law was based on exhaustive research in Greenland in the fifties and took into consideration existing custom. The code stresses the need for treating each case as unique and avoids general rules and sentences. Even in cases of murder, no minimum or maximum sentence is set. The object ostensibly is resocialization. Thus, as has been pointed out by J. Hertling, Chief of Police, Greenlandic law has many possibilities for rehabilitation, but the facilities and the staff to carry out the rehabilitation are lacking.

There is a further problem: the existence of a separate Criminal Law for Greenlanders has intensified the ethnic prejudices, and many Greenlanders rather than welcoming the more flexible Criminal Code, feel they are not being treated as equals.

Justices of the Peace play an important role in Greenland. Each Justice is appointed by the High Court Judge for Greenland in consultation with the Governor. The Justice of the Peace have two advisers, appointed by the Community Council for a four year period.

Only cases that can be tried by a summary court are handled locally. Charges of indictment are handled by a higher court in Godthåb^o. The judge of the higher court in Godthåb^o is also assisted by two

advisers who are selected by the Greenlandic Council. This system has the advantage that if the judge is Danish, he has the benefit of advice from local men.

Since there are no practicing lawyers in Greenland, defence of the accused, in cases where a prison sentence is involved, is handled by laymen over 21 who are appointed by the Justice of the Peace. (Hertling: 1968). Because the Greenlandic Criminal Code is flexible and since there is only one correctional home with a capacity for 18 inmates, many of the younger men charged with criminal offenses are indentured to a family in the country, e.g. an owner of a fishing vessel may have the boy work on his boat for the duration of his sentence. On the whole this system seems to have met with success, but lately there have been several instances where the young offenders have assaulted their appointed guardians, and people may well become reluctant to undertake this type of responsibility in the future.

Formal authority in places like Godthåb⁰ is not effective and appears to carry little weight amongst the population. The legitimacy and effectiveness of authority tends to vary inversely with the size of the towns.¹ This is corroborated by the fact that, although there is unemployment, the Police Department has difficulty in recruiting people to what would otherwise be regarded as coveted positions.

The number of cases reported in connection with criminal offenses in Godthåb⁰ was:

1967	-	700
1968	-	1,201

¹In the town of Jacobshaven (pop: 2,063) this spring, 4 young people staged an armed attack on the village for no apparent reason. The youngsters, including one girl, were heavily armed and were only dislodged from their position in the surrounding hills by a large brigade of volunteers. In the same town, several months later, a number of men overpowered the police post to free an arrested relative. This open defiance of authority is a disturbing development.

These figures do not represent the number of individuals involved in crime, because there is an estimated 50% rate of recidivism which brings into question the rehabilitation feature of the special Criminal Code.

Because of lack of evidence, only 636 were charged in 1968. Of these, 377 came to Court and the remainder were carried over to 1969. Of the 377 who appeared in Court, all were found guilty and only 12 appealed against the verdict. The most frequent charges were :

Offenses against family and sexual mores	24
Tort	48
Theft	216

None of the men sentenced were given prison terms. Some were reprimanded, others were given fines and made to pay compensation. Sukkertoppen, with approximately half the population of Godthåb (3,376 and 6,487 respectively), had only 193 cases of criminal activity reported. This is probably because Godthåb is a busy port town with many construction workers and sailors, which adds to social instability. It should be realized that the actual number of cases of violation of the social norms is substantially higher than the number reported. It should also be pointed out that by far the majority of the offences are committed by single men.

It may well be that increase of violence is in fact aggravated by the Western model of behaviour to which Greenlanders are exposed through the media and through personal contacts. Writing of Western society, Wolfgang writes:

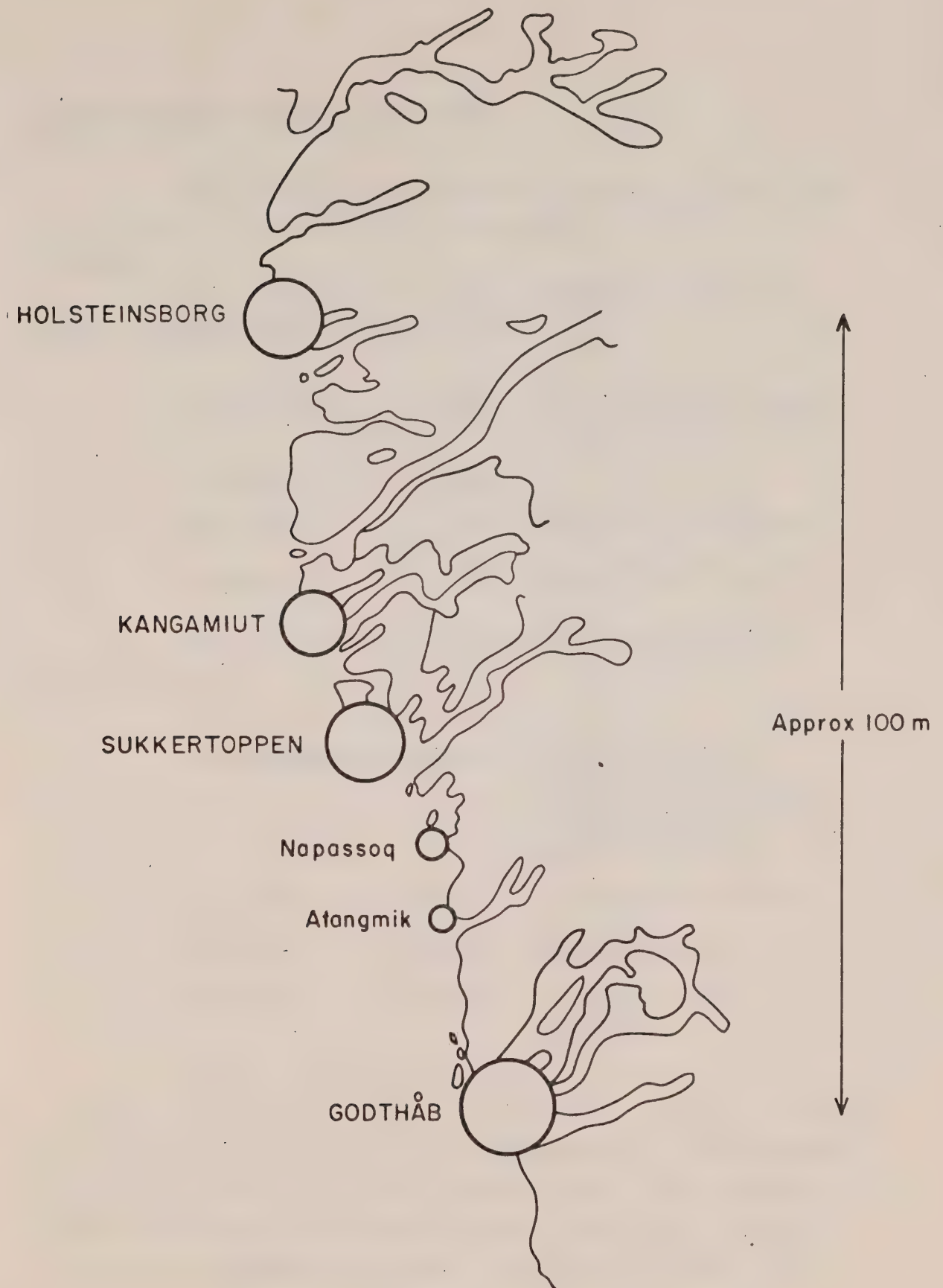
"The desire to become a successful male adult member of the lower class culture, requires adolescent rehearsal of the toughness, heavy drinking and quick aggressive response to certain stimuli that are characteristic of the lower-class adult male." (Marvin E. Wolfgang: 1969: 9).

The exposure to a multitude of movies may well be a significant aspect of the socialization model.

The Administration of Justice and the other State services discussed earlier, play a dominant role in Greenland, but regional government is now becoming an increasingly significant factor in community life.

The next chapter will discuss government on the regional level. It is based on the Sukkertoppen region, but most other regional administrations are similar in nature.

SUKKERTOPPEN MUNICIPAL DISTRICT
GREENLAND



VIII

SUKKERTOPPEN COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

The Sukkertoppen Municipal region includes the settlements of Sukkertoppen, Kangamiut, Napassoq, and Atangmik.

The whole district has a population of 3561 (1967), broken down as follows:

Sukkertoppen	2508	(including 375 Danes) projected 1975 - 3600
Atangmik	112	
Napassoq	273	(including 36 Danes)
Kangamiut	668	(including 3 Danes)

The Council for the district has 10 members
(Data for 1966)

Sukkertoppen	6 members	(1 Danish teacher, 2 fishing skippers, 1 master carpenter, 1 interpreter, 1 Danish administrator)
Atangmik	1 member	(1 fishing skipper)
Napassoq	1 member	(fishing skipper)
Kangamiut	2 members	(1 skipper and 1 engineer)

Since the distances between settlements are substantial (from Napassoq to Kangamiut is about a hundred miles) frequent meetings are not possible. I understand councils meet about 4 or 5 times a year. The meetings always take place in Sukkertoppen. (The same is true for other community councils: the meetings take place

in the urban centre and the representatives of the outlying settlements make their way by boat or plane to attend the meeting.)

It is obvious that under the present system the balance of power lies with the community of Sukkertoppen, which is also a focal point for services for the whole region. In order to provide autonomy in purely local matters such as social assistance and recreation, a series of committees are appointed for each individual community dealing with these issues. Furthermore, the community council simply could not meet frequently enough to deal with all these day to day problems anyway. Thus the function of the council proper seems to be restricted to planning basic strategies and long range plans. In addition, they have legislative responsibilities covering dogs, roads, curfews, store closing hours, etc. By-laws enacted are subject to approval by the Governor.¹

The committees created by the community council have appointed members who need not be members of the community council. There are a few committees which are only open to council members: the housing committee, one of the key committees, is amongst these. To get an idea of the fragmentation of functions under this committee system, we will briefly look at the committees appointed in the Sukkertoppen area. It should be remembered that since each locality does not have a council of its own to deal with local issues, the

¹Funds for the operation of the Council are provided by the Greenland Council on a basis of need, not on a per capita basis, for per capita costs of building roads, supplying general services, day nurseries etc., differ for different communities. Each community submits a proposed budget to the Landsråd annually. The Greenland Council, if it approves the budget, supplies the funds from tax revenue derived from the tax on tobacco, alcohol, and chocolate.

committees are necessary to serve this function.

The Social Assistance Committee and the Children's
Care Committee

Whereas in the Northwest Territories, social assistance such as financial aid, counselling, adoptions, rehabilitation work, etc., are either federal or territorial responsibilities, in Greenland these duties devolve on the shoulders of the Municipal Council, which discharges them through the Social Assistance Committees. These committees administer substantial sums of money for aid purposes.

The staff of the Social Assistance Committee is generally Greenlandic but occasionally Danish employees are appointed to the Committee. There are no educational prerequisites for membership. The Committee engages social workers and, as far as I know, these are always Greenlanders. The social workers, who are known as 'social medhjælpere' or social assistants, undergo a 6 week training course in Godthåb given by professional social workers in Greenland, all on the staff of the Greenlandic Council in Godthåb. These men have no time for any active social work and their duties are thus restricted to training staff and supervisory duties. This is in sharp contrast with Canada where face to face social work is carried out in many cases by fully trained workers with Eskimo assistance.

Some of the obvious advantages of the Canadian method is that expertise is used in the field, and that there is less chance of discrimination towards certain community elements when an outsider administers

assistance, plus the fact that a trained worker would presumably be more capable of diagnosing certain psychological variables affecting individuals in the community and to put case work in an intellectual perspective in terms of existing community relationships.¹

An advantage of the Danish system is that it involves Greenlanders in decision making which results in a more discriminate assistance policy and maintains tighter discipline towards recipients. In Sukkertoppen, I met Maria Heilman, a highly intelligent Greenlandic teacher, who is now engaged as a part-time 'social medhjælper'. She explained that she works closely with the government administrator, whose responsibilities include the extension of administrative services to various committees. In practice, however, the administrator generally becomes more deeply involved, and retains some decision making powers.

Below are listed some of the expenditures related to social welfare which are administered by the social assistance and other related committees. These expenditures are paid out of the allocation made to the Sukkertoppen community by the "Landskassen" of the Greenlandic Council.

¹The territorial social worker has a great deal of face to face contact and therefore can give feed back to the administration. In Greenland, most work involving face to face contact is delegated to Greenlandic appointees, generally members of the community. The latter situation probably results in a lack of communication between Greenlandic community life and the Danish administration.

Sukkertoppen 1969 Budget for Social Services

		<u>appx. amount in</u>
For support of children		\$
and parents in need	- Kr. 573,000	83,085
Institutional		
expenditures	- Kr. 1,300,600	185,870

Institutional expenditures include: aid to the aged and disabled, operation of the community children's home, day nurseries, communal kindergarten, residence for apprentices, recreation centres, transport for the sick.

The Children's Care Committee, which handles adoptions, child health care, day nurseries, and kindergartens, has in addition to appointed members, several permanent members without votes: the police assistant, the kindergarten director, the director of the sanatorium, and the supervisor of the children's ward in the hospital.

Housing Committee

This is a key committee in Greenlandic development. It will be recalled that there is also a Provincial Housing Committee, one of the three committees which constitute the communications link between the Governor and the Greenlandic Council. The local housing committee and the provincial committee deal with the same subjects, but on different levels. Their activities include planning strategy and timing of relocation. The Local Housing Committee has only Sukkertoppen council members on it, yet it makes recommendations which affect the flow of people from the

outlying settlements to Sukkertoppen. This committee is responsible for allocation of the new multi-storey apartments to families from all settlements in the region.

Other Committees in the Sukkertoppen Area

A number of other committees are also appointed by the municipal council. They are listed below:

- Finance Committee
- Committee on Business and Legal Affairs
- Committee on Credit Rating
- Committee on Supervision of Building Sites and Urban Planning
- Population Committee
- Consumers Committee
- Health Committee
- Committee on the Collection of Refuse
- Adult Education Committee
- Committee on Recreation
- Committee on the Naming of Roads
- Museum Committee
- Committee on Beautification
- School Committee with Representation from Parents and Council
- Advisory Committee on Alcohol

Potentially these committees ensure a good deal of local participation in community life. But at present the functioning of a number of others is still limited in scope. It does appear that the present structure of regional councils, with some representatives from the satellite communities and the majority of the council members from Sukkertoppen, puts the effective decision making power largely in the hands of Sukkertoppen. This mode of organization is well adapted to present government policy which contemplates a constant

flow of people into Sukkertoppen. Other areas have a similar structure of regional government, by council and committees. It is obvious that the outlying areas are at a disadvantage under this structure.¹

Relation of the Regional Council to the State Administration

Like northern Canada, state services still predominate. Each settlement, such as Sukkertoppen, has a local administrator with a substantial staff to do the administration on behalf of the local committee.

The Housing Committee may, for example, determine how many people from outlying settlements can be accommodated in a certain section of Sukkertoppen, but the administrator will assign the prospective settlers to units and see to it that the units are prepared, furniture is moved, and the rent is collected. Similarly he does the accounting for the Social Assistance Committee and other municipal activities.

All educational and health services are provided by the state and administered from Godthåb^o. Reporting follows functional lines. Professionals such as nurses and teachers report to the doctor or principal in charge, who in turn reports to the senior officer concerned on the staff of the Governor.

Coordination of state agencies on the local level is achieved by having representatives of the school, the health organization, the police, the council,

¹The ambitious centralization programme demands centralization of power, particularly as far as economic decisions are concerned. This, of course, limits the local autonomy to a very considerable extent. It is proposed, however, to provide local revenue by taxation on income in years to come. This would make local government more meaningful.

and other institutions on the local committees. On the provincial level, it is assured by the fact that the senior officers, who head the large service organizations such as health and education, report to the Governor.

A large number of the administrators and teachers are Greenlanders. Income in Greenland is tax free and in addition Danes working in isolated areas have generous leave benefits.¹ There are, however, financial benefits for those born in Denmark for which Greenlanders working in the same capacity are not eligible. This is discussed later in more detail.

¹A survey of incentives used by the Danish administration to ensure an able and stable staff in Greenland will be part of our future research programme.

THE CENTRALIZATION PROGRAMME

In 1960, a Royal Commission drew up a new ten year development programme for the years 1965-1975. Reference to the basic aims of this plan, known as G60, has been made in the introduction. Three basic assumptions underlie it:

- A. That Greenlanders wish to move to urban centres.
- B. That a policy of moving Greenlanders to Denmark in order to remove surplus labour would not be acceptable or possible.
- C. That the fishing industry must be centralized in order to reach maximum economy and efficiency and that it will be the main Greenlandic industry.

Assumption B has been interpreted by some to mean that Greenlanders are discouraged from emigrating to Denmark. This is not correct according to the Danish officials I met. They pointed out that individual mobility of Danes moving to Greenland and Greenlanders to Denmark is in no way discouraged. Danish thinking on the issue is expressed in the G60 report.

"Such a policy would bring about a partial depopulation of Greenland and the end of the life of the Greenland population as a unit within the Danish Kingdom with its own language, its own culture and its own tradition. This would not be a way of solving

the Greenland problems but to give up trying to solve them."¹ (Jenness, 1967: 163)

Assumption C has not proved wholly correct. There have been unexpected setbacks in the fishing industry owing to natural causes. Mr. C. Borneman, secretary to the Greenland Parliamentary Committee, thought that more diversification was needed and expressed the hope that both mineral exploration and tourism would help to attain diversification.

Centralization as articulate policy has affected most inhabitants of Greenland. In the Sukkertoppen area, which I visited, it was one of the most talked about subjects and one of the most controversial ones.

Sukkertoppen has been designated as the development centre under the government's centralization policy. The three smaller settlements in the regions Kangamiut, Napassoq and Atangmik, were considered to be unsuitable for further expansion. The reasons for this were not that the fisheries were below standard but that duplication of adequate harbours, processing plants, municipal facilities, and services would be far too costly. In addition, the potential water supply was poor in a number of satellite settlements.

¹A recent article in the Berlingske Tidende (Nov. 1 '69) indicates a basic change of policy. It is now proposed to bring unemployed fishermen to Denmark to fill a labour shortage. It will be interesting for Canadian planners concerned with industrial relocation to observe this new development.

This scheme, which from an economic viewpoint is perfectly rational, has had many unanticipated consequences and has been the subject of substantial controversy in Denmark and Greenland. The government has also discontinued further capital investment in the settlements not designated as development centres.

Napassoq, through the intervention of a private entrepreneur, has escaped the fate of ultimate extinction. Several years ago a fish export firm established a plant in Napassoq, which has proved profitable both to the investors and to the village.

Napassoq was the only settlement where on my arrival nobody was out on the dock to inspect the visitors, the reason: everybody was working. Even the women, who had never been employed before, now work in the fish plant where they can average \$12.00 a day - a good wage for Greenland. On arrival in Kangamiut, on the other hand, most of the men and women were amicably seated on the wooden railing of the dock, chatting, or spending their time lugging blocks of ice from the central ice depot to their homes - underlining the statement made by the GTO on the matter of inadequate water supplies.

Napassoq, by virtue of its economic independence, will thus be allowed to develop, and although there was no evidence of new government construction, it will in all probability receive its quota of houses and public buildings necessary for proper services.

Kangamiut and Atangmik are slated to disappear, although Kangamiut has been given several five-storey buildings in the last few years as an interim measure. The people in Kangamiut were much preoccupied with the

migration question. In the period 1967-1969, seventy people had moved from Kangamiut to Sukkertoppen. According to Olaf Josephsen, the trader and government representative (Handelsforvalt), 68 of the 70 did not want to move, but were forced to do so since their homes had been condemned. In 1969, only one family moved.

The migrants from Kangamiut in Sukkertoppen are not satisfied. Although residents of Sukkertoppen, they still appeal to the Kangamiut representatives of the Council for help and advice. They complain of discrimination by the Sukkertoppen people and feel the Housing Committee made a mistake by allocating them apartments in the same building. Because of this they retain a separate identity and lack the opportunity to integrate into the Sukkertoppen community. So, in fact, they are still a little Kangamiut group living in Sukkertoppen, and dependent on the elected representative from Kangamiut to protect their interests.

The Danish Government, in formulating the policy of centralization, has entirely thought in terms of economic efficiency and the provision of material facilities to ameliorate northern living conditions. The consequences of unemployment, massive breakdowns in social control, and apathy had not been foreseen. Alternate schemes, such as the adoption of an intermediate technology with an accompanying programme of providing limited services in a series of smaller settlements, were not considered. The point raised by M.L. Skolnik and C. Waden in their paper on intermediate adaptation is worth considering:

"Too much emphasis has been placed on automation and rationalization of small scale agriculture. In the face of devastating unemployment, poverty and urban slums, and in the process of voting for the inevitable direction of technological development, the problem of creating human resource equal to technological expansion has been under-estimated."

(M.L. Skolnik and C. Wadell, 1969: 22)

The significance of the above statement lies in the proposition that there should be an interim period which would slow the centralization process down and allow a more gradual transition.

The centralization programme has been justified from an ethnic viewpoint. It is argued that if the population remained scattered along the coast, administered by Danes, their ethnic identity could never emerge. But in large concentrations, they will develop their own institutions, their own leaders, and a new sense of independence. (Jenness, 1967: 165). This argument is sound enough. The more scattered an ethnic group, the less likely a strong sense of ethnic identity will emerge - i.e. an identity extending beyond local or group associations. But it has been shown in Greenland, even in the newly created population centres, that family and local identity are slow to give way to a sense of larger identity. In Sukkertoppen, people from Kangamiut remain people from Kangamiut for many years. The same was found in the settlement of Grise Fjord in Canada where only after more than

ten years a marriage took place between a Port Harrison Eskimo and a Pond Inlet Eskimo.¹

The G60 committee has forecast that in 1975, 80% of the total population and 90% of the population below the Arctic Circle will be living in towns. Centralization policy applies to the fishing districts only (that is the more populous areas of the coast below the arctic circle which have year round open water). In northern Greenland, where sealing predominates, a scattered population is economically desirable.

Native Population of Fishing Districts

	<u>1945</u>		<u>1955</u>		<u>1965</u>		<u>1975</u>
Towns	7,168	44%	11,523	57%	19,646	70%	35,000 87%
Settlements	9,201	56%	8,533	43%	8,338	30%	5,400 13%

Native Population of Sealing Districts

Towns	1,013	22%	1,754	34%	2,601	37%	2,400 34%
Settlements	3,557	78%	3,392	66%	4,443	63%	4,600 66%

(Figures include only persons born in Greenland - Ministry for Greenland 1968)

¹Grise Fjord was a new community created in N. Eastern Canada in the fifties by settlers from Pond Inlet and Port Harrison.

The projection of expected urban populations up to 1975 looks as follows:

Population Figures for the Towns in Greenland over the 25 Year Period 1951-1975 (Ministry for Greenland 1968)

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>Prognosis for 1975</u>
Nanortalik	464	1,100	2,000
Julianehaab	1,108	1,900	2,900
Narssak'	520	1,300	2,300
Total	2,092	4,300	7,200
Frederikshaab	594	1,300	5,000
Godthåb	1,226	3,500	10,000
Sukkertoppen	944	2,000	3,600
Holsteinsborg	1,052	2,300	3,800
"Open Water Towns"			
Total	3,816	9,100	22,400
Egedesminde	897	2,250	2,400
Christianshaab	232	900	1,300
Jacobshavn	787	1,600	2,500
Qutdligssat	920	1,300	400
Godhavn	412	600	400
Disko Bay Total	3,443	6,650	7,000
Umanak	554	800	500
Upernavik	407	650	500
Thule	142	200	250
Angmagssalik	212	650	825
Scoresbysund	99	250	325
Towns in Sealing District			
Total	1,414	2,550	2,400
Town Population	10,765	22,600	39,000
Settlement Population	12,300 app.	12,781	10,000
Total Population	23,065	35,381	49,000

The move to the towns is state-supported, but a person who moves to a town with a labour shortage is given twice the subsidy received by a person moving to a town where no specific demand for labour exists.¹

Although the migrations are voluntary, there is often little choice involved. Housing and industry are not being created in the smaller towns, and educational services are superior in the larger centres. Greenlanders have developed a keen awareness of the value of education over the years, and often are willing to make sacrifices in order to obtain a better education for their children.

Once a process of modernization has touched the value system of a people, the flow of humanity will be towards the areas where institutions of modernization are erected, but the rate of immigration is important. Now people are often pressured into moving because services are becoming less adequate in the outlying settlements relative to the services and housing available in the towns.

¹ In addition to transport and basic furniture for the new apartment, immigrants to urban areas with a demand for labour receive a Kr. 2000 premium (appx. \$300 Can.).



APARTMENT HOUSES FOR GREENLANDERS

The Greenland Royal Commission of 1960 specifically recommended that the level of education, health, and housing be substantially raised within the next ten years. The construction of 4,500 new dwellings was proposed, most of which would be in the designated development centres of Frederikshaab, Godthåb, Sukkertoppen, and Holsteinsborg.

The general economic policy for the ten year plan demanded centralization of industry, and the building programme was integrated into the general centralization strategy. Subsequently, virtually no new capital investment took place in most of the outlying settlements and the bulk of all major construction took place in the four towns mentioned above. Traditionally, the Danish Government had provided single wooden frame houses - some of these were shipped to Greenland as early as 1836. The gay colours of these high-pitched gabled roof homes are a well known feature of the Greenlandic landscape. But the implementation of 4,500 new units posed financial and technical problems. Health authorities insisted that running water and adequate sewage facilities be included. This, together with the limited building space offered by the rugged Greenlandic terrain, ruled out further construction of single housing. The cost of supplying running water and sewage-installations for a single house is \$16,000 per unit as opposed to \$3,000 per unit for apartments. The total cost of apartment units including installation of all services, which includes hot water heat and a high quality finish, came to approximately \$19,000.00 per unit. Single housing of equal quality and adequate

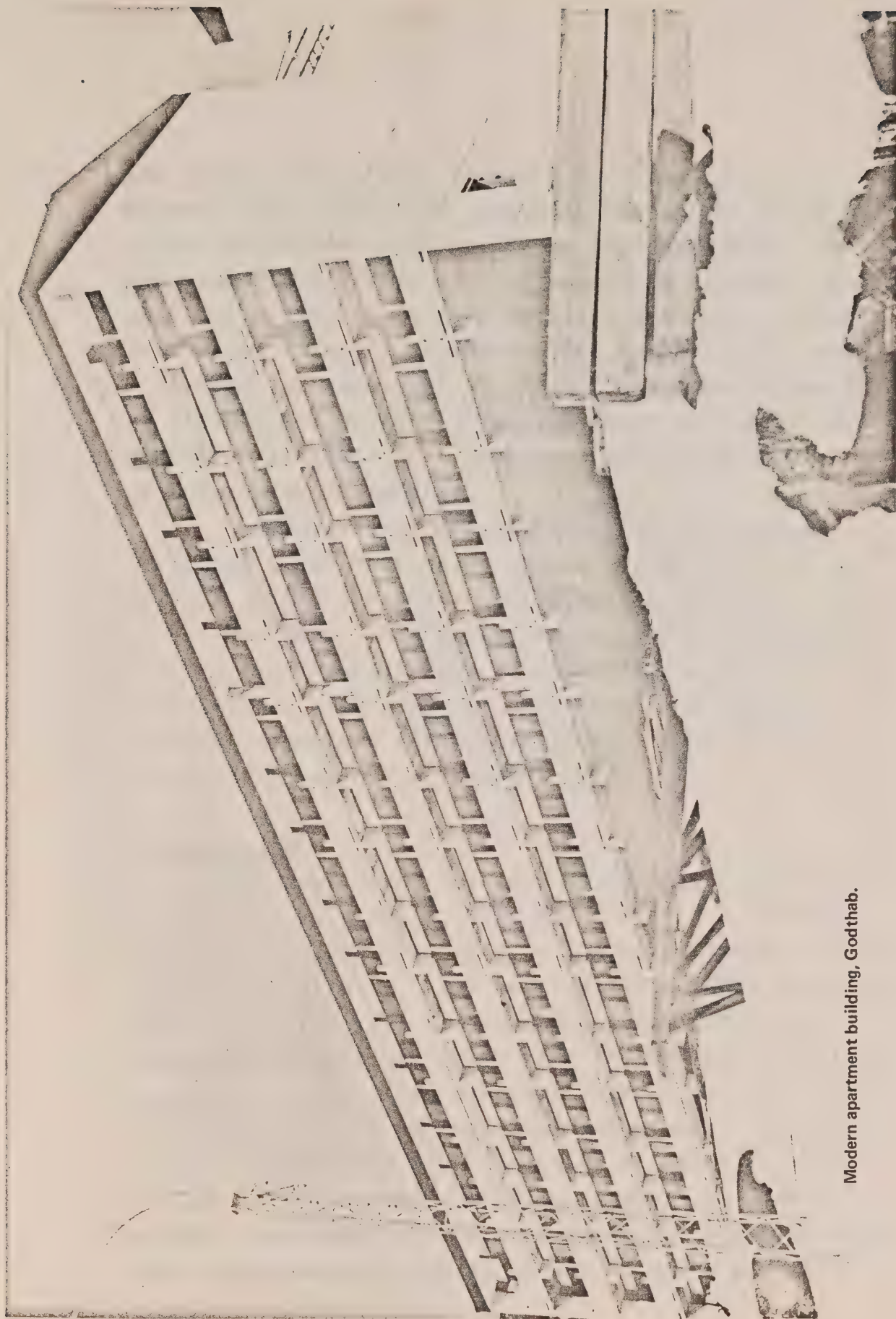
sanitation would amount to almost twice that amount, and it was ruled out as a general solution to Greenlandic housing.¹

The older blocks built in the period 1961-1965 have up to 16 units per building. Construction material was predominantly wood. In 1965, precast concrete slabs came into vogue and large buildings containing 60 or more units rose in Godthåb. From the air, they look like long white bars cutting across the settlement at different angles. To see these modern multi-storey buildings rise up on the coast of Godthåb Fjord surrounded by a mountainous arctic landscape capped by ice and snow, gives the visitor - conditioned to the simplistic look of the Canadian Arctic - a feeling of disbelief.

The modern buildings are generally four stories high. The interior supporting walls and floors are of concrete. Floors are covered with hard wood and wood panelling is not infrequently used for walls, giving an attractive finish.

The buildings have hot water heating, running water, and modern sewage systems. Cooking is done on

¹The rent a family pays is approximately 40% of the economic rent, reduced by allowances made for each child of 7½% up to a maximum of 75% of the rent. Income is not taken into consideration. For a family with three children, occupying a three bedroom unit, rent would be approximately \$50 per month. Indigent families can draw welfare funds to aid in the payments of rent. Theoretically, non-payment can be sanctioned by expulsion. In practice, this seldom happens.



Modern apartment building, Godthab.

gas stoves; the gas is imported in liquid form from Denmark and placed in a specially designated position in the above-ground basements of the buildings. Gas and electric power to each apartment is through a coin-operated meter, so no cash means no gas and no power. This saves a costly administrative apparatus for the collection of dues, but it appears that the inclusion of a fixed fee in rental charges would be simpler and cheaper. It would also eliminate endless borrowing of tokens for the meters.

The absence of elevators in four-storey buildings means that those on the top storey have to climb 5 levels since each building has an above-ground basement. Living on the upper stories, particularly for families with small children, poses considerable problems. On the other hand, the installation of elevators might lead to misuse by children and present hazards of another type.

Organization

The administration of the many multi-storey apartment houses is a substantial job, and there is a special housing administration unit in the establishment of the local administrator. The local housing administrators are civil servants. Although the actual decision-making power lies in theory with the Housing Committee appointed by the local Council, much of the day-to-day decisions are made by the housing administrator who is also responsible for collection of rents.

The Housing Committee consists of Council members, and deals with applications for accommodation. They decide which families should be given priority,

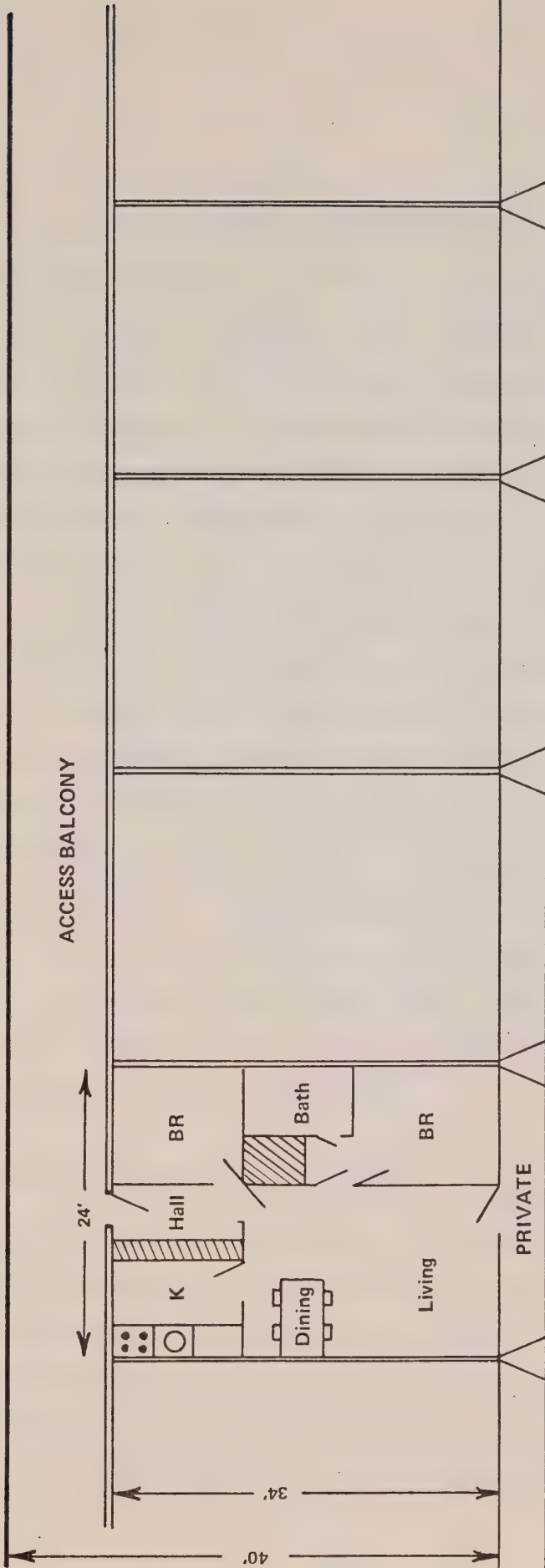
if and when sanctions are to be applied for non-payment of rent, and consult with the administration on housing rules in general. The Building Planning Committee, also appointed by the Council, is consulted on location of buildings, design, and other technical matters.

In the consultation process between Greenlanders and Danish planners, the Greenlandic Women Organization has played a major role. In 1967, the Greenland Technical Organization, responsible for the building programme, organized a seminar for the Greenlandic Women Organization, to discuss design and utilization of apartments. (Bolid Seminar 1967).

During this seminar, the Building Planning Committee was severely criticized. It was pointed out by one female participant in the seminar, that so far this Committee had just said "yes and amen" to anything that had been proposed.¹ Some of the women at the GTO Seminar felt strongly that the Greenlandic Women Organization should have representation on the Building Planning Committees, which thus far was open to Council Members only, mostly men. It was repeatedly pointed out that women were often in a better position to judge the organization of home.

¹ During my visit to Godthåb in May, 1969, the Community Council for the first time did not say "yes and amen", and told the architects that plans for a new building development were unacceptable because the population density for the proposed area would be too high. The counter-strategy employed by the planners, also used in the Canadian Arctic, was to point out that changes will mean delays. It did not work in this case. They packed their bags and went home to Copenhagen to re-design the plans. I should point out that the opposition by the Community Council was spearheaded by its only Danish member, Rita Heilman.

450'



STORAGE

Reading through the conclusions put forth by the different workshops in the seminar, it becomes clear that most of the Greenlandic women who participated are quite willing to try multi-storey housing. Even some of the representatives from North Greenland said that if adequate storage for meat and fish and dog-pens were provided, apartment living could be adequate. Many participants mentioned, however, that buildings should preferably not be more than two stories high.

The kind of consultation that took place in the seminar and the subsequent publication of the proceedings is an excellent source of feed-back to the planners. Since then consultation between planners and the Greenlandic women has been continuous. It is particularly important that women be involved in the consultations. In the Northwest Territories, where there is no Territorial women's organization, consultation with women is rare. Considering the role of women in the home, and their influence on the next generation, this is unrealistic and I was glad to see that in Greenland native women through their organization are playing a more active role in consultation and community organization.

Housing - as the Greenlanders See It

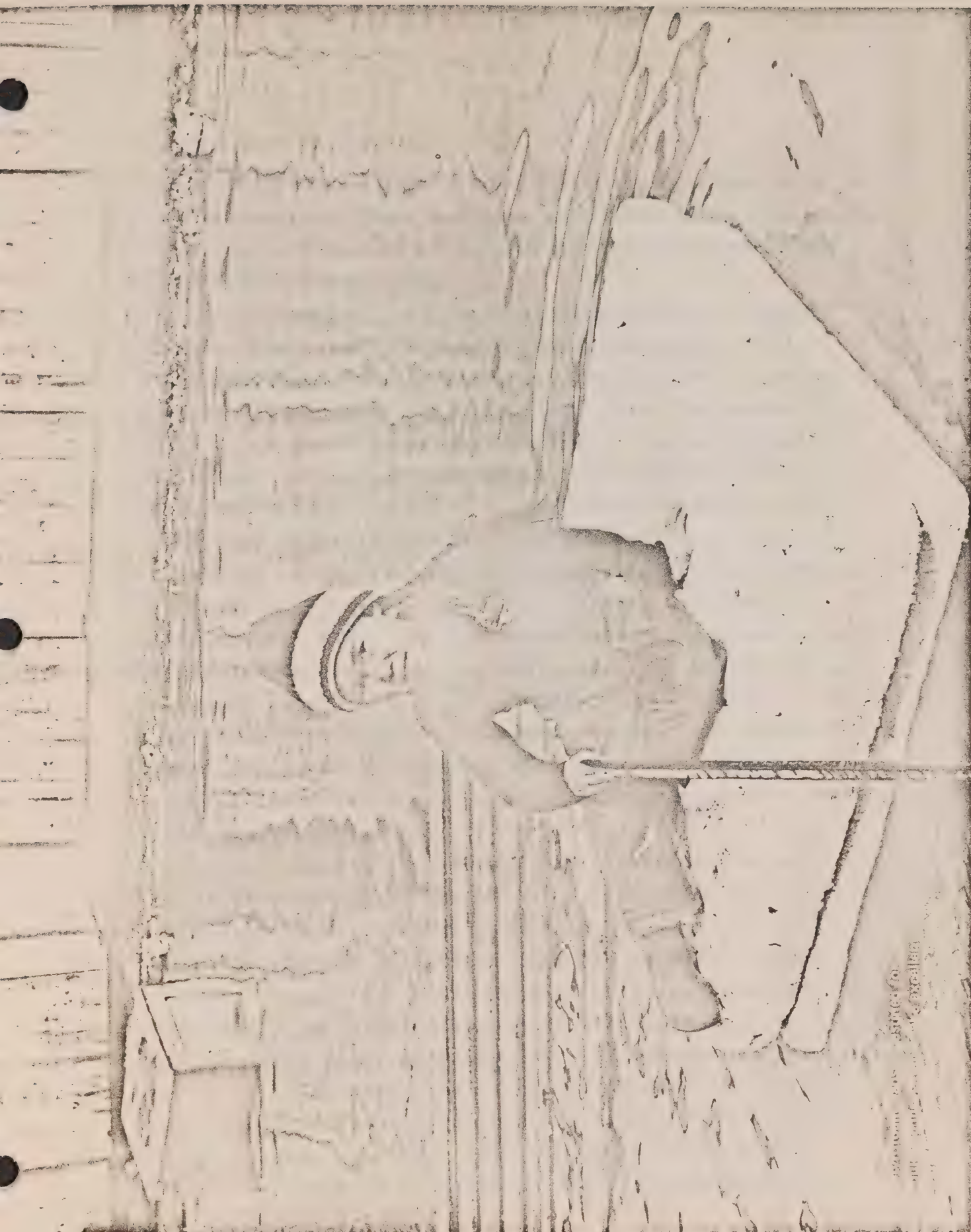
We have already mentioned that the women participating in the Seminar on Housing in 1967 are in principle agreeable to multi-storey housing, but they insist that they be consulted on matters of design and organization. That they objected to buildings being more than 2 stor~~ess~~ high is understandable. Many of the Greenlanders I spoke to while in Godthåb^o objected to this as well. I will discuss some of the other

observations made by tenants below. Many of the occupants considered the continuous balconies, connecting all the flats on one level, a source of irritation. Strangers could look into the bedroom or kitchen. Children playing tag or other games generated lots of noise, and the opening of windows on that side of the flat made it possible for outsiders to force entry. Prowlers are not uncommon.

The lack of adequate space for washing machines made it necessary for most to rely on the communal washing rooms in the basement.¹ In theory, a time schedule is drawn up for the washing room, but this does not always work. People trade times and some forget their allotted hour and appear when others are supposed to have priority. The few Danish women who live in the building I visited complained that many Greenlandic women left the washing machines dirty and they organized their washing times so that they could wash together, which created a feeling of ethnic discrimination.² Sound-proofing was considered inadequate by virtually all the people I spoke to. Some families, carousing, could keep their neighbours awake all night. It was pointed out to me that many of the stabler families attempt to have units allocated to

¹The new concrete buildings have washing and drying facilities in the basement. The pre-1965 buildings have drying facilities on the balconies only.

²Danes who are not civil servants are given accommodation on the same basis as Greenlanders. Civil servants are allocated the same type of housing but generally grouped together so that a whole section of a block for instance, may be reserved for civil servants from Denmark. Senior Officers are given single housing.



Man in conical hat, standing in field.



them in the same part of the building, although this is not a policy. Other problems were that women frequently left small children alone and other tenants would end up looking after them.

Many of the families were concerned about drunks and sexual offenders wandering around the buildings and forcing entrance. Whether this situation would be better in single housing areas is debatable.

One serious shortcoming of the buildings is the lack of recreational space for children. With an average of approximately 4 children per family, and children under 14 constituting almost 50% of the building population, the child density of the buildings is very much higher than usual in most apartment buildings. Since the flats are small, childrens' play takes place mostly on the balconies and the stairways, causing congestion, noise, damage, and irritation. The unanimous opinion appears to be that for these projects to be successful, both indoor and outdoor recreational facilities must be an essential part of the basic design.

Inadequate storage and freezer space was another complaint. The use of native foods was seriously hampered by the lack of a scullery in front of the kitchen and the absence of adequate communal freezer space. A scullery could also be used for repairing equipment, washing clothes, and other chores, for which there is no suitable space at present.

The newer buildings have the dining table in the living room or a separate room. This was not appreciated. A dining table in the kitchen with a built-in bench as provided in the older building was

the preferred design.

Most of the tenants were sensitive about the view from the living room. Those who did not have a view of the mountains or the Fjord really felt deprived. Knowing the tendency of some engineers to place a building according to the features of the ground rather than the beauty of the view, this is a point well worth stressing.

The Greenlanders in the larger block complained about lack of contact with other people in the block and seemed to suffer a feeling of alienation. Those in the smaller blocks - 16 units or less - appeared to have more solidarity according to a survey carried out by the Greenland Technical Organization. (GTO, 1967)

Health and Housing

It was reported in the GTO report that according to the health authorities a direct relationship existed between the type of accommodation people occupied and the rate of infectious disease. The highest rate of infectious disease was in the single housing areas in Godthåb, which largely house immigrants from north and east Greenland.

These single homes had honeybags for sewage, and dish and bathwater drained directly into ditches outside. This is similar to the single Eskimo housing in the Canadian Arctic. The rates of infectious disease in the multi-storey buildings were substantially less. The latter have modern plumbing and central heating, and are far better insulated. In considering the above, it should be realized that the occupants of single house areas come from more primitive surroundings

than the occupants of multi-storey buildings, which introduces a variable other than accommodation. It was noted by the hospital staff that at the time when large numbers of people began to move into the buildings, the rate of illness for those who had moved dropped.

In the single house area, with its immigrant population hailing from remote outports, social solidarity was somewhat better, but drinking and unemployment were far worse. The G.T.O. report hypothesized that the occupancy of a modern apartment gives more socio-economic status, and consequently obligations to the occupant, which creates a demand for furniture and other consumer goods. The increased demands for consumer goods, the hypothesis suggests, would motivate a man to maintain steady employment. There is no adequate evidence to support this hypothesis.

Conclusion

The apartment housing provided by the Danish Government is attractive and of high quality - as opposed to the generally poor quality finish of the new Eskimo housing provided in the eastern arctic of Canada - but much education and development will have to take place before we can expect these facilities to be properly utilized. The absence of trained social workers and community development personnel in Greenland to work with the new tenants, as well as the lack of adult education programmes in the field of home economics is probably the weakest link in the housing programme.

I should emphasize that most Greenlanders are, at least in principle, satisfied with the programme. There are long waiting lists for flats and if given a choice of living in a building with modern facilities

or in single housing without these, they would choose the former.

Some recommendations that would improve the housing situation in Greenland are:

- (a) To split the buildings into sections housing perhaps 8 or 10 families each. The sections would be served by central stairways. This would be a better arrangement than having access balconies serving 40 or more units. Solidarity would also be encouraged by having smaller groups of families within a building.
- (b) The introduction of a type of tenant organization within each sub-block.
- (c) Better sound-proofing of the units, and the addition of freezer space and a scullery.
- (d) Greater attention to the view and landscaping. There appears to be direct relation between personality development and the physical environment of the individual, which must be realized by designers.
- (e) Since the child density is high, this must become an integral variable in the designing process.
- (f) The introduction of community development workers into Greenland's urban centres.

(g) That representatives of women's organizations continue to be consulted in the planning process.

It is hoped that, continued consultation and creative design will ultimately result in buildings which will provide the correct balance between personal privacy and communal solidarity, economy and lebensraum, child energy and adult sanity.

ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

How do people relate to each other now that traditional ties are gone? Their relationship to the larger national identity of Denmark is manifested through their membership in a series of formal organizations: the administration, the school system, communication through radio, films, newspaper, and the church.

Formal organizations, both voluntary and involuntary, now assume greater importance. They are the avenues for education, communication, and recreation. They range from cooperatives to temperance groups and, for those so motivated, they present an opportunity to have some influence on administrative and decision making bodies. Through membership in such organizations as the Women's Association, the Labour Union, etc., opinions can be voiced and policy is influenced. However, the number of people who take an active part in organized community life is limited. Frequently the same individuals are active in a number of different organizations.

Although no systematic interviewing was done, it was clear from statements made by my informers that Godthåb has distinct class and ethnic subdivisions.

A small group of Greenlanders have been co-opted into the Danish administration. They have a leading voice amongst their own people through the communication system. This group of elite families, is closely inter-related, and has Danish members through marriage. Preliminary observations suggest that educated Greenlanders in senior positions frequently have Danish wives, whereas a number of Danish entre-

preneurs established in Greenland were often married to Greenlandic women.

Denmark has raised the level of education substantially over the last 200 years, but only up to the lower occupational groups. The result is that there are numerous Greenlandic teachers, nurses, and technicians, but only three or four University graduates.

Political Groups

The first real political party founded in Greenland was the Innuity party. The impetus for the creation of this party was the issue of the 'birth criteria'. The birth criteria came out of the 1960 Royal Commission Report.

It basically condones a wage scale which is higher for those born in Denmark. The Danish rationale for this is that they still have to import Danish personnel for the implementation of the Greenland development programme and, unless wages are high, they will be unable to attract the necessary workers. To place Greenlanders on the same wage scale would raise the cost of the Government to unrealistic levels and price some of the exports out of the market.

If wages were raised by 50% to bring them to the Danish level, the subsidy to Greenland and to the export industry would increase enormously. The introduction of taxation and raising retail prices to a point where they would cover cost, would reduce this subsidy, but require a larger subsidy for the export industry.

1st of May meeting of the labour union. Signs ask for use of Greenlandic labour, political representation for labour, more participation and democracy.

kalátallit sulissortut
sulissarisigut!
Udnut grønlandsk
arbejdskraft!

nålagkersugauu4-
me surissut ami-
! gauligâgut!
Umanglu politiske
representanter!

iloniqakanner
kufauraisussir
!! amale!
Kere tillering
Kere demokrati



The dilemma is a complex one, yet socio-psychological considerations should perhaps override economics in this case. The unequal wage scale are too painful an issue. To see young Greenlanders with a high level of education, the pride of the country, receive unequal treatment, is hard to swallow.

Naturally this issue has been a continual bone of contention and the object of the Innuity party was to eradicate this difference. The younger, well-educated Greenlanders in particular were affected by the birth criteria and they provided support for the party. Many Danes supported their platform and the Danish Press was sympathetic. Yet, interestingly enough, the party's candidates got nowhere. The old independents were re-elected, which probably illustrates that at this stage the relationship to personalities is stronger than support of a series of ideas. Furthermore, the party's platform was of little interest to fishermen and others not on regular wages. The groups most affected by the birth criteria were those employed by the state, i.e. the small, relatively well-educated groups, on the payroll of the Danish Government.¹

Special rules for Greenland, such as the birth criteria and the prohibition of dogs in southern Greenland,² can be dispensed with, if social forces conspire. Special dispensation committees can make the

¹Particularly painful to many Greenlanders is the fact that for years they have been told that education is the means to equality - a magic passport to the white man's world. Yet now that some have attained high education levels, the long promised equality is not forthcoming.

²Since dogs are not needed south of Holsteinsborg for economic purposes, they are not allowed in that area - for as in the Canadian arctic they constitute a serious threat to children.

impossible possible. Thus, one senior government officer born in Greenland receives Danish wages and another senior official born in Denmark has special permission to keep his favoured Danish-born Labrador retriever in his apartment. Read the headline in a local paper: "Does the birth criteria now apply to dogs as well?". Naturally the existence of dispensation committees does not simplify matters.

Although they have little in common, the community of private entrepreneurs joined the younger, educated Greenlanders in their support of the InnuIt party. This may be because these Danes have a permanent interest in Greenland and are often married to Greenlandic girls.

More recently there has been a tendency to widen the range of platforms of the InnuIt party, with occasional rumblings about independence. The issue of independence has made little headway but the issue is discussed, particularly by young Greenlanders studying in Copenhagen.

The InnuIt party still exists but has not been able to capture the imagination of the Greenland population. Lidegaard mentions in his new publication Det Gaelder Grønland, that in 1967 the party leadership threatened a platform of 'self determination', in order to stir up the predominant apathetic political climate.

Knud Hjertling, a Greenlandic and Member of the Danish Parliament, has sought a close political relationship with the Greenlandic labour union, GAS, in a left-wing coalition. He was the key speaker at a labour rally on the 1st of May in front of the Governor's Office.

The Greenlandic Council, with its 19 elected members, was traditionally elected without a party system. In 1967, a new regulation permitted the election of five members in addition to the present 16. These 5 members can be elected without reference to any political districts. In other words, five candidates can be nominated by organizations such as KNAPP, (Fishermen and Hunters Union), GAS (Labour Union), the Innuvit Party, and other organizations. The election of these candidates is by means of a province-wide count. As far as district representation is concerned, each district, regardless of size, elects one member to the Council, although some districts may have populations of several hundred only, and others of several thousand. Yet, because of regional differences, this system is still upheld. It is conceivable that, as urbanization continues, discrepancies will become too great and the principle of representation by size of population will have to be introduced.¹

Economic Considerations

I will briefly present some of the economic principles that operate in Greenland². Up to 1948, the basic policy had been that Greenland should not be a

¹ Similar problems exist in Canada and, as society begins more and more to organize along shared ideas and abstract concepts rather than the sharing of physical territory, the older system of representation becomes more and more obsolete. The introduction of seats for members representing nationwide groups, such as trade unions, Indian and Eskimo associations, or even national student organizations, would improve communication between different sectors of society.

² The following discussion is based on Mogens Boserup's book 'Economic Policy in Greenland'. (Boserup 1963).

financial liability, thus prices paid to producers and the prices of consumer goods were set at a level which would yield a surplus equal to the administrative overheads in Greenland.

Post-war policy abandoned this principle and committed itself to supply the economic and social development needs of Greenland without financial limits. This policy has resulted in heavy capital investment in Greenland. A large part of this investment has gone towards the subsidization of the fishing industry. The value of exports rose to \$6.5 million in 1961, and in 1967 it was almost \$13,000,000.

Income rose by 72% (purchasing power) from 1947 to 1960. In 1960 it was \$14,000,000, (including food obtained through hunting), but nearly one half of this \$14,000,000 accrued to Danes working in Greenland, approximately one eighth of the population of 40,000.

Boserup suggests that real per capita income is still less than 40% of the real per capita income in Denmark. Traditionally it was taken for granted that fishing and hunting were the basic natural industries, but with increasing education and modernization, pressure for diversification is beginning to mount. Three possibilities present themselves :

1. To have Greenlanders take over professional and administrative positions now held by Danes;

¹This following discussion is based on Mogens Boserup's book 'Economic Policy in Greenland'. (Boserup 1963).

2. To introduce industries not native to Greenland;¹
3. To have cooperatives take over the numerous private firms now operated by Danes;
4. To improve the mobility of the labour force.

Fishing is the main industry and yet the intake of fish by Greenland still amounts to only 10% of the total fish taken in Davis Strait. The major harvest is taken by Russian and Norwegian fleets. Although there has been an increase in fishing cutters, most of the boats used are still small in comparison with the foreign fleets operating in Davis Strait.

I interviewed the Director of the Sukkertoppen Fish Plant, which is owned by the Royal Trade. The Director, Kant Anderson, pointed out to me that lack of raw fish was the main problem, and implied that the current fleet could produce substantially more. He felt that the cutters should stay out overnight, but the men were not willing to do this.²

In Sukkertoppen they have the following boats:

¹The stunningly beautiful scenery would undoubtedly invite the possibility of tourist industries, particularly if commercial air transport between Baffinland and Greenland were to be established, for this would give access to the North American market.

²Traditionally Eskimos hunted with their families. It may take a generation or more to change these patterns. In Newfoundland where men are separated from their families for months while logging or fishing, a cultural tradition has arisen which supports these economic patterns.

1 cutter over 100 tons
2 cutters over 20 tons
7 cutters over 15 tons
12 cutters over 10 tons
6 cutters over 5 tons
30 small motorboats

Boats over 15 tons could easily stay out overnight.

The Royal Trade is now building two 500 ton trawlers and if their operation is successful, more will follow.

Some Greenlanders have done well in fishing, and the Chairman of KNAPP, Carlo Heilman, is the owner of a 20 ton and a 100 ton cutter. He employs a number of people to run these boats for him.

In order to bring about both diversification of labour and modernization of the fishing industry, a large vocational school is being completed in Godthåb, where a variety of courses in seamanship, navigation, engineering, etc. will be taught in addition to a number of other trades such as electrical engineering, plumbing, carpentry, and many others.

The frozen fish products are exported to Europe and the USA. Refrigerated ships run between Godthåb and Boston. At present the ships return empty, but if the fish supply were regularized and runs made on schedule, it might be possible to have return cargoes of food and fruit from the USA and east coast of Canada, which could be cheaper than importing from Denmark. Some of the private supermarkets in Greenland would certainly be interested in this possibility.

The relationship that should prevail between state and private enterprise has been a central theme in Greenland for the last 200 years. Up to 1950



U.S. Navy submarine, number 129.

Greenland had been closed to private enterprise, yet even after 1950, the Royal Greenland Trading Co. remained the main impulse behind commercial life. Private enterprise captured only 15% of the retail trade in the period 1950-1963. The original intention that Greenlanders become involved in private enterprise never materialized; immigrant Danes, or former civil servants, became the dominant element in the community of private entrepreneurs. Boserup spells out four criteria for choosing between public and private enterprise:

1. Economic efficiency: This criteria for the moment would put Greenlanders at a disadvantage.
2. Greenlandic participation: Forms of enterprise are to be preferred which are most conducive to the programme being taken over by the Greenlanders themselves by occupying posts in business, administration, etc. Thus, even if Greenlanders taking up the retail trade should result in a temporary loss of efficiency, this would be preferred in the long run. (Boserup 1963)

Greenlanders are keen to see less Danish State enterprise as well as less Danish private enterprise. The only solution would be for Greenlanders to take over by means of efficient competition. Thus Boserup aptly recommends that State enterprise be maintained until such time as Greenlanders can take over, either individually or through cooperatives.

3. The protection of the less efficient economic sectors against competition: State purchase of fish and other native products is one way whereby Greenlandic fishermen can be protected;
4. The form of enterprise should protect the exploitation of primary producers and consumers: Most places are too small for more than one firm - if this firm is privately owned, it would have a monopoly. A public monopoly would be preferable in such a case. Cooperatives could be viable alternatives.

In Godthåb there are a large number of private entrepreneurs of Danish origin, many of whom have married Greenlanders and are there to stay. These entrepreneurs have their own organization, with a permanent secretary. The organization has 300 members but the actual number of contractors and small shop operators is estimated at only 100. The entrepreneurs operate a variety of enterprises: radio and camera shops, bakeries, clothing stores, delicatessens, supermarkets, and taxi companies. To walk through Godthåb reminds one of a small town in Europe, and the variety of stores and the goods, adds a dimension and colour to life which the Canadian arctic sadly lacks.

The labour force in Godthåb is approximately 2,000, of which about 300 work for the State and the remainder for private employers.

In addition to private enterprise, the cooperative movement has made some inroads, and the Royal Greenland Trading Co. has turned some of its stores over to local cooperatives, including its

supermarket in Godthåb. The cooperative movement appears to have a lot of support and it can be foreseen that the Royal Greenland Trading Co. will continue to transfer responsibility to cooperative movements.

When Greenland was opened up to private enterprise in 1950, the cooperative movement was not ready to utilize the opportunity to fill the vacuum that existed for retailers. Instead, it was the Danish private entrepreneurs who moved in and deprived the Greenlander of leadership positions.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Although the centralization, housing, and economic development programmes are articulate and well prepared in a physical sense, the sociological fall-out has been substantial and unexpected in its severity.

Of course the human and physical environments of settlement and town were so radically different that many of the immigrants in the development centres were unable to reorient themselves to the demands and challenges. In the small community they moved among lifelong associates, their role and status were defined, even the village fool had an identity and knew the behaviour expected of him. In the towns, the newly arrived families live in large blocks which sometimes house over 60 families. Work may be hard to find and takes place in a strange environment amongst men they have not met before, the job may be terminated at any time, and stability in terms of income or human relations is seldom found.

For men who have an abstract world view, and move in a community of common mental and psychic interests, a change of physical environment means little - because their referential framework is rooted in centuries of art, philosophy, and literature - meaningful relations can be re-established with other groups practically instantaneously. For those who do not have such a system of reference, mobility in terms of residence and work environment is a serious crisis. After all, their framework of reference is rooted in personal relations, which may have taken years to build up.

In the urban setting, social and economic activities are separated, controlled by rules not subject to change by human sentiment and personal intervention. Sources of authority are fragmented between the different agencies and there is no immediate source of appeal.

All these changes have brought about a crisis in social behaviour. Social control at the settlement level was primarily informal in nature. Through sanctions - primarily gossip and other conveyors of public opinion - individuals not only were made to conform to expected behaviour, they were encouraged by the group to achieve success in hunting and fishing or native industries. Positive sanctions reinforced achievement because the entire settlement would indirectly share in the achievement. In the towns economic success brings financial rewards to the individual but not to the community - it is not reinforced by approval of the group. Group approval is probably a greater incentive than mere financial rewards.

In the field of social behaviour too, the small settlement could effectively withhold affection or approval. In the larger towns, the family can do this, but is not backed by the community besides there are many other groups to which the individual can turn for support.

Formal social control is not as yet effective, and there appear to be no clear sources of authority - even the elected community council carries little power to control behaviour - probably because there is no tradition of legitimate political authority in the native culture. The authority of the state police is hardly viewed as legitimate, which is also suggested by police

departments' difficulties in attracting Greenlanders into their services.

It is no wonder then that the new towns such as Godthåb^o have seen a substantial collapse of social control. This has been aggravated by inadequate preparation in the field of adult education prior to moving to the larger community, and the absence of community development workers to educate and guide the newcomers.

The main results of social breakdown are:

- a) a dangerous increase in the consumption of alcohol
- b) deteriorating relations between Danes and Greenlanders
- c) unstable sexual relationships
- d) a rise in criminal charges

Alcohol

Preliminary observations indicated that alcohol caused a variety of stresses. It often leads to loss of work, family squabbles, violence, and neglect of children. It was also considered a significant factor in the spread of venereal disease. One social worker estimated that the stability and welfare of almost a third of the families living in Godthåb^o were in one way or another affected by drinking.

According to some of my informants, drinking can also be related to social sub-groups. An elite group of Greenlanders has been co-opted into the Danish establishment and occupies a number of administrative positions. This group has a serious problem. Their drinking patterns were acquired through association

with Danes. These Greenlanders are anxious to consolidate their status as equals and, in so far as drinking is a ritual of the higher social classes, they tend to over-drink. The working upper-lower class has no ambitious goals. These people have stability, less pressure, and moderate living habits. The Chief of Police stated that misuse of alcohol is limited in this group. But amongst the new migrants in Godthåb, there is a large group who are not accustomed to the social and industrial life of a town and frequently use alcohol as an avenue of escape from a social pattern that to them is incomprehensible and meaningless.

In order to come to terms with the alarming consumption of alcohol and all its related problems, the Greenland Council in 1966 voted unanimously to create a "Sobriety Commission". The commission concluded what was already generally assumed, that there was a clear relationship between work absences, sexual offences, venereal disease, and alcohol. The commission attributed the excessive drinking to the "personal insecurity created by social change", the lack of adequate housing, recreation etc. There was no suggestion as to how changes in the centralization programme could reduce insecurity. The commission considered a number of measures that might reduce drinking. These included:

- a) limiting sales to certain days of the week;
- b) removing all exhibitions of liquor from the stores and selling through the use of catalogues;
- c) increase of sales tax;

- d) rationing;
- e) total prohibition.

The commission's final recommendation was to introduce a rationing system which in the Spring of 1969 was not yet implemented.

Race Relations

With the exception of towns where there are large numbers of Danish workers, the Danish contact population in Greenland consists often of 'liberal middle class' representatives and Greenlanders frequently establish rewarding relationships with this group. Real confrontation with ethnic-racial prejudices is generally reserved for those who go to Denmark for training, where they meet a much wider cross-section of the population, including many people in the lower socio-economic classes, where prejudices are often more openly expressed.

In an interview with the Berlingske Tidende, a Japanese girl reported that "she was treated discourteously until it became known that she was not a Greenlander but Japanese"! Eskimos from the Eastern Arctic in Canada, whose only contact has been with school teachers and administrators in a small settlement and who come to the south, often have traumatic experiences. It is thus no wonder that most of the vocal support for greater independence and preservation of the Greenlandic language as the working language in Greenland comes from the young Greenlanders working in Copenhagen, who are in all probability exposed to more social or cultural prejudice. It should be emphasised that

attitudes towards Denmark differ for various age groups. The older generation appears to be deeply committed to Denmark and prides itself on its Danish citizenship. The Danish church ceremonials and the admiration for the Royal Family are an integral part of Greenlandic life. Ceremonially, Danes and Greenlanders are not separate people, as are the French and English Canadians (Hughes 1963).

Gulborg Chemnitz, an outstanding intellect among Greenlandic women, stated in an interview for the Berlingske Tidende (November 22, 1969), that the problems between Danes and Greenlanders were rooted in the socio-economic structure rather than in cultural incompatibility. She argued that Greenlanders can have a double identity, both Danish and Greenlandic, and that this enriches a people rather than impoverishes them.

In Greenlandic towns where there are many Danish construction workers, there is reason for friction. Many of the men take Greenlandic women out, causing resentment amongst the local males. Obviously the construction workers have more money and can offer the women entertainment and gifts that otherwise they could not hope to obtain. In some areas of Godthåb there appears to be strong distrust and resentment of whites. Danes are reluctant to walk in the streets at night for fear of meeting drunk and aggressive Greenlanders. Parents in the apartment buildings are reluctant to leave their children alone for fear of molestation by sexual perverts.

Thus, in spite of greater economic opportunity and better housing and education, the quality of life

in Greenland exhibits instability and tension which require further thought and attention, and technical planning should take socio-psychological realities into consideration.

Sexual Relationships

Sexual relationships are relatively unstable, to the extent that in Godthåb 50% of all the children are born out of wedlock. Institutions run by the state for unmarried mothers and their children attempt to accommodate as many as they can handle. But obviously these children are handicapped, for neither an institution, nor an upbringing by one parent can be a satisfactory substitute for a normal family life, and to realize that half of the upcoming generation in Godthåb could be in this position is rather alarming. For a social group to have stability and to provide a suitable climate for the raising of children, control of sexual mores is essential.

Crime Rates

In the section dealing with the Administration of Justice, it was noted that a substantial increase in violence and theft has taken place over the last few years.

Further research in Greenland will examine the different areas of social instability and attempt to relate these to structural aspects of the urbanization programme. It is hoped that this will produce knowledge that will aid in designing development programmes in Canada. We can certainly benefit from their experience, particularly as Greenlandic society is now in a stage of development that Canada is only contemplating for its northland.

CONCLUSION

This report has attempted to outline social and administrative development in Greenland in an historical perspective. It has described such features as municipal organizations and political and administrative institutions and the major development programmes, including centralization and housing.

Because formal organization at municipal, provincial and state levels is now the dominant feature of social life, it is proposed that further research focus on this formal structure, treating it as a major variable in socio-economic development programmes. New institutional models will generate or modify new attitudes and values, and it should be understood that there must be continuity between prevailing values and the political and economic structure. Otherwise traditional values will be lost, leaving a community without ideals and standards of behaviour.

Both the formal political and the economic structures should be examined. In addition, the extent to which these institutions are integrated must be studied. The western world usually assumes that economic institutions operate at optimum level when separated from the political and social spheres, (although many social scientists have questioned this assumption: Polanyi 1957, G. Dalton 1961, Keynes 1926). The Western model involves an emphasis on achieved status, individual effort and the economic role as the central part in man's life. In Western Society, a man's relationship to the labour market tends to determine his place of work, his stability, mental security, and frequently his

self-respect, which varies directly according to the dollar amount for which he can sell his services.

Traditional Eskimo society also put an emphasis on individual achievement but only in terms of its importance to the entire community. In the new urban situation, an individual's success does not increase his contribution to the community neither does it earn him admiration or status, and the latter are more powerful incentives for individual effort than money. Economic opportunity will be seized if it brings social reward and prestige; in western culture economic success often does just this, but it is open to question whether Greenlandic culture reinforces economic success to the same degree. Perhaps economic activity should be given more social relevance and geared to group action rather than individual action. (Verba 1965). Models which stress modernization but maintain a closer integration between social, political, and economic spheres might be worth experimenting with, in so far as they may offer greater continuity with traditional social organizations. As mentioned earlier, the extension of the cooperative movement would be a significant step toward making economic activity more relevant socially and politically.¹

Japan is an interesting example of modernization based on a cultural tradition quite different

¹As early as 1925, Knud Rasmussen, the Danish arctic explorer, advocated to authorities both in Ottawa and Copenhagen the establishment of Eskimo cooperatives. Rasmussen had observed cooperatives in Alaska during the Fifth Thule expedition, and perceived their congruity with Eskimo cultural values.

from the West. In Japan there is a tradition of political obedience and social and economic activity that are integrated to a considerable extent. The modernization of Japan has shown that the industrialization of a country need not be based on the western social organization and customs. The larger companies in Japan provide an entire lifetime social matrix for their workers, including schools, entertainment, schooling etc. Salaries are based on family size and age, rather than skill and merit. This preserves paternal authority and respect for the older generation, which is an important point in informal social control (Abegglen 1958). Thus modernization can be accomplished with a variety of institutional models, and it might be well worthwhile to try pilot projects using models different from the ones commonly used.¹ It would also be useful to ask if policy should give priority to the creation of individual economic opportunity, or should stress the creation of a concept of group activities.

As stressed earlier, the Canadian north is still in a formative period, and its socio-economic structure has not yet fallen into a rigid pattern. There is still the opportunity to attempt directed change. Comparative social studies can aid in giving direction during the formative period in the Northwest Territories. Further contact with Greenland, whose native population has deep historical ties with our own Eskimo population, will undoubtedly stimulate cultural development also.

¹ Lidegaard in a recent article in Greenland made the same point (Lidegaard 1969).

It is hoped that future exchanges of research personnel and scientific information will be supplemented by organized as well as informal communication between Greenlanders and Canadian Eskimos. The Greenlanders have gone far to develop a written record of their culture, and they have an extremely deep interest in their cousins in Canada. They could well be instrumental in fostering a sense of ethnic pride and interest in native culture amongst the Canadian Eskimo.

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